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# Daily Report

# Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-96-103
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# Daily Report
## Central Eurasia

*FBIS-SOV-96-103* 28 May 1996

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**Russia: FBIS Presidential Election Report 25 May**
*WA2405161196*

[FBIS Report] ***This is the sixth in a weekly series of reports FBIS is producing on Russian regional developments in the campaign for the 16 June presidential election. It is based solely on Russian media reporting from Moscow and provincial sources (see note 1).***

**(Note 1) FBIS receipt of some Russian local media sources via mail accounts for the dated nature of certain items cited. This FBIS media note presents the local media in the timeliest manner possible, given procurement constraints.**

***Provincial Leaders Update Preferences Among Their Electorates*** IZVESTIYA (21 May) reported comments from eight heads of regional executive and legislative authorities on how their respective electorates would likely vote for president. Of the eight, three leaders, Altay Kray legislative assembly chairman Aleksandr Surikov, Chuvash Republic president Nikolay Fedorov, and Belgorod Oblast Duma chairman Yuriy Seliverstov, said that Russian president Boris Yeltsin is trailing CPRF candidate Gennadiy Zyuganov:

- Surikov said that Altay voters are "despondent" because of "pay arrears" and no money in the region to maintain services and energy. He forecast that one-half of the votes would go to Zyuganov and 20-25 percent to Yeltsin, adding that he "feared" that LDPR candidate Vladimir Zhirinovskiy could "outstrip" Yeltsin.
- Fedorov claimed that Zyuganov is "well ahead" in Chuvashia, but clearly indicated that he would intervene to alter that outlook. He said that Yeltsin is a "long way behind" in third place, but added "we will change this arrangement" by "explaining to Chuvash voters what choice" should be made.
- Seliverstov said that the mood in his oblast is "predominantly procommunist," but claimed that Yeltsin's recent visit "changed the situation dramatically" in his favor. However, he said that the "latest local sociological data" reveal Zyuganov leading Yeltsin by 2-3 percentage points in a two-man race and by 6 percentage points among all contenders, i.e. Zyuganov (27 percent); Yeltsin (21 percent); and Yabloko candidate Grigoriy Yavlinskiy (11 percent).

According to IZVESTIYA, other provincial leaders claimed Yeltsin was ahead or the race was very close. Andrey Bychkov, Kostroma Oblast Duma chairman, said that the latest sociological surveys indicate that Yeltsin is "slightly ahead," followed by Zyuganov and Zhirinovskiy. Vyacheslav Parinov, North Ossetia-Alania Republic parliament chairman, claimed the latest poll data indicate a dead heat between Yeltsin and Zyuganov, adding that while Zyuganov's rating is steady, Yeltsin's is rising. Vasiliy Desyatnikov, Kirov Oblast administration head, said that Kirov voters "look most favorably on Yeltsin." Minnirais Ishmuratov, Bashkortostan Republic parliament chairman, and Kaadyr-ool Bicheldey, Tyva Republic Supreme Hural chairman, said that their voters by and large acknowledge a two-man race between Yeltsin and Zyuganov, but they gave no indication of who was ahead.

***Zyuganov Challenges Negative Media Image, "Surprises" St. Petersburg Voters*** Opposition national daily PRAVDA (14 May) claimed that during his 27 April trip to St. Petersburg Zyuganov did much to dispel the Russian national media's negative image of him. The article claimed St. Petersburg voters "noted with surprise the striking contrast between Zyuganov's image as presented by the democratic mass media and the real person." It said that Zyuganov did not come through as "an old-fashioned stalwart" and that he "did not promise anything except to work hard in the highest office if he is elected"—presumably a jab at Yeltsin, whose promises of pork to the regions have recently been questioned in Russian media (NOVAYA GAZETA-PONEDELNIK, ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI, 6 May). PRAVDA contended that many St. Petersburg voters "for the first time" became aware of "a whole spectrum of different political and social forces behind Zyuganov" and that a Zyuganov victory would not mean the victory of "bad Communists."

PRAVDA also claimed that Zyuganov made some gains in the local media. While noting that "by and large local press coverage" of Zyuganov's visit was "muted," the article reported that the local television Channel 11 "completely unexpectedly made a considerable time slot available" to Zyuganov, which allowed "hundreds of thousands of city residents" to see him as a "physically strong Russian intellectual with quick and precise thinking," who "appreciates humor" and displayed "infinite patience" with "stupid questions" like "Are your execution lists ready?" PRAVDA also highlighted a "noteworthy" commentary in the "rather influential local anticommunist newspaper NEVSKOYE VREMYA" (30 April), which admitted that Zyuganov's campaign is "creating the aura of being above the party," and that this is "necessary" to mark Zyuganov as a "national leader" and attract a "considerable share of democrats disenchanted with Yeltsin."

***Goryacheva Portrays Zyuganov, CPRF as Moderates*** During her April visit to Krasnodar, State Duma deputy chairman Svetlana Goryacheva, a leading CPRF member, attempted to portray Zyuganov and the CPRF

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as humble, moderate, and youthful (SEVERNYY KAVKAZ, no. 17, April). She reportedly told journalists that the communists are "prepared to recognize their mistakes, to take from the past only that which is good, and to listen to others." Promising not to repeat the CPSU's "militant atheism," she asserted that she "prayed" in the besieged parliament building on 4 October 1993 and that she now "considers herself to be Russian Orthodox."

On several occasions during the press conference, Goryacheva and journalists sparred over her characterizations of the party and Zyuganov. One journalist derided her description of Zyuganov as a "modest man" who "lives meagerly," saying that Zyuganov lives in a "luxurious apartment" in "one of the most prestigious" sections of Moscow. Rejecting another journalist's claim that the CPRF is made up largely of pensioners, Goryacheva contended that the average age in the party is between 50 and 55 and accused the journalist of having "unreliable sources."

***Kabardino-Balkaria Officials' Support for Yeltsin Denounced*** Deputies in the communist-dominated Kabardino-Balkaria legislative assembly have requested inquiries into alleged abuses by the speaker of the assembly and by the republic's head of administration, who they claim have illegally campaigned for Yeltsin (SEVERNYY KAVKAZ, no. 17, April). The inquiries accuse the speaker of signing, without the deputies' knowledge and in their name, an Easter greeting calling for people to vote for Yeltsin and claim that the head of administration violated the republic's constitution by signing the greeting and "agitating for the president." While a majority of the deputies in the local parliament reportedly support Zyuganov, the republic's administration is backing Yeltsin and the vice-premier of the administration is the chairman of Yeltsin's local campaign.

***Novosibirsk Mayor Endorses No Candidate, But Assesses the CPRF Warmly*** Novosibirsk Mayor Viktor Tolokonskiy declared he has no confidence in Yeltsin or Zyuganov during a meeting with students and teachers at Novosibirsk State University, according to Novosibirsk's SOVETSKAYA SIBIR (14 May). Tolokonskiy declared that neither Yeltsin nor Zyuganov is "satisfactory." He claimed he would like to support a "third candidate," but said that, although he had no "serious objections" to candidates Svyatoslav Fedorov, Yavlinskiy, or former USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev, he was not "ready to vote for them" either. He asserted that Yavlinskiy had "no experience, only ambitions," and that Gorbachev "greatly overestimates his chances of success." The article said that although Tolokonskiy did not endorse CPRF leader Zyuganov, he "did not scare those present with the 'Red threat,'" and conceded that a "very significant part" of the CPRF members are "quite normal, honest, and worthy People" who are "guided by common sense."

***ARP-Affiliated Journalist Takes Cautious Pro-Yeltsin Stance*** An Irkutsk journalist affiliated with the presidential Administration's Regional Press Agency (ARP) expressed a guarded endorsement of Yeltsin's second term, indicating the ARP's limited effectiveness in influencing regional media coverage of the campaign. Pegging Yeltsin as the lesser of two evils, the article, entitled "I Opt For Stagnation [under Yeltsin]," claimed that Yeltsin's "shortcomings are obvious" and prompt "a multitude of perfectly decent people" to vote for "anyone but Yeltsin," but warned that if Zyuganov is elected, the June election may be "the last in Russia's history." It concludes that four more years with Yeltsin means certain "political stagnation," but Russia nevertheless "knows what to expect" from him, and his victory (VOSTOCHNO-SIBIRSKAYA PRAVDA, 8 May).

***Nalchik Paper Has Had "Enough Demagoguery" From Communists*** An ARP-affiliated journalist writing in KABARDINO-BALKARSKAYA PRAVDA (17 May) rejected Zyuganov's election platform call for power to be returned to the people, contending that the "Russian people are tired of [communist] demagoguery." He countered that the "building of a legal state with institutions of civil free expression and control over power" is "essential" and claimed that Yeltsin's election victory will be the "guarantee" [zalog] for this.

**Polls**

***Yeltsin's Popularity On the Rise in Irkutsk*** Results of a 7-8 May poll of 849 persons indicate that Yeltsin is leading among presidential candidates in Irkutsk. The poll was conducted by the Sociological Laboratory of the Irkutsk State Economic Academy. The academy reported that 27.4 percent of Irkutsk voters would vote for Yeltsin, 13.1 percent would support Yavlinskiy, and 12.3 percent would support Zyuganov. Zhirinovskiy garnered 6.3 percent, Fedorov took 5.8 percent, and Aleksandr Lebed took 5.3 percent. In addition, when asked which candidate they would under no circumstances support, 54.3 percent indicated Zhirinovskiy, 39.4 percent claimed Zyuganov, and 25.5 percent said Yeltsin (SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH, 18 May; VOSTOCHNO-SIBIRSKAYA PRAVDA, 21 May).

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**Russia: Yeltsin Urged To Disband Duma After Election Victory**

*LD2505164096 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1138 GMT 25 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, May 25 (Interfax) — Co-Chairperson of the Russia's Choice democratic movement Bella Denisenko believes that if incumbent Russian President Boris Yeltsin is re-elected for a second term he should disband the present State Duma.

"After Yeltsin wins the June 16 (presidential) elections the issue of dissolving the 'Communist' Duma should be raised before him," Denisenko said during the Fourth congress of the Russia's Choice movement in Moscow on Saturday. Her statement was welcomed by several delegates to the congress.

After Yeltsin wins the elections he will need to avoid another confrontation between the branches of power that might spawn bloodshed, Denisenko said.

Denisenko said she admitted the possibility of Yeltsin's unsuccessful performance in the first round of the June 16 elections. She urged Russia's Choice activists to ensure "solid public control over the vote." In the event of "Yeltsin's defeat as a result of the president's opponents falsifying the election returns" the movement must demand that the elections be declared as invalid, she said.

"New parliamentary elections may be held in the fall of 1996 or in the winter of 1997," Denisenko believes.

Those at the congress adopted appeals to Russian citizens and democratic organizations urging them to combine their efforts in order to help Yeltsin win the June 16 presidential elections "for the sake of the country's revival."

**Russia: Yeltsin Has 'No Objections' to Handover Procedure**

*MM2705095296 Moscow DOM I OTECHESTVO in Russian 25-31 May 96 p i*

[M.G. report: "Kremlin Will Stay Where It Is"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The State Duma is discussing most keenly the law "On the Procedure for the Newly-Elected Russian Federation President To Take Up Office."

It will be like this. The results will most likely be officially announced after the second round. If we mark off another 30 days from that day we will find out the inauguration date. The old and new (if there is one) presidents establish an "official accord" for the transition period: The former guarantor of the Constitution briefs his junior colleague on matters pertaining to states of emergency and martial law and hands over the attache case containing the "button." The new president, on taking up office, is obliged to leave all parties.

The outgoing president is assigned a life pension, a state guard, and a state dacha.

Boris Yeltsin has "no objections" to this draft law, many Duma members believe, because he will not have to hand over the "button" to anyone this summer.

**Russia: Yeltsin Talks to Miners, Mentions Chechen Peace Talks**

*LD2505123696 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 25 May 96*

[From the Vesti program]

[FBIS Translated Text] [passage omitted] The main event of the president's visit to Vorkuta was undoubtedly the conversation of Boris Yeltsin with coal miners of the Pechora coal basin. The miners have waited for this for a long time.

[Begin recording] [Yeltsin, wearing a helmet talking to miners in a mine and back to the camera] The state policy is not to purchase coal under any circumstance. Russia is a great coal power. [miners nod agreement]. What we talked about that we can cope only with gas and that we don't need coal. No! [miners nod agreement] This is not our policy. This is not the policy of President Yeltsin. No! Coal has to be developed. To support coal. To support Vorkuta and to develop Vorkuta. Today I will go up, have a change of clothing, have a wash, and then sign a decree.

[Unidentified miner] Who should clean up the mess? Not only the father of the nation?

[Yeltsin] The president.

[Miner] Right!

[Yeltsin] To manage it stronger.

[Miners] Stronger as possible.

[Miner] To collect by stronger measures or a stronger president? [miners laugh].

[Yeltsin] If you can find such a good person who knows the work and who doesn't threaten reforms and is stronger, Let's have him. [end recording]

On the same day, also in Vorkuta, Boris Yeltsin once again confirmed his readiness to hold talks with leaders of the Chechen opposition.

[Begin Yeltsin recording] We will definitely stop the war. On Monday we shall sit down at the negotiating

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table. That is, the day after tomorrow we shall sit down at the negotiating table with the leadership of the government. And the armed forces will also be there, as well as representatives from their side. And I believe we shall agree on a full halt to all armed clashes. And of course we won't give away Chechnya. Chechnya will stay within Russia. Russia is one and indivisible. [end recoding]

[Video shows Boris Yeltsin arriving at the school in Vorkuta, ringing the final bell, sitting on a stool talking to pupils, Yeltsin dressed in miners clothing talking to miners down the mine and Boris Yeltsin in open air talking on the meeting with the Chechen opposition].

**Russia: Yeltsin's Visit to Arkhangelsk Reviewed**

*LD2405191496 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1820 GMT 24 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] ARKHANGELSK, May 24 (Itar-Tass) — Russian President Boris Yeltsin ended his brief working trip to the Arkhangelsk region.

"Your future and the future of your children will be ensured if the communists do not come to power on June 16. I hope you shall prevent this," Russian President Boris Yeltsin said on Friday, addressing workers of the Solombala timber sawing and wood-working complex.

"You are not just choosing a name, your are choosing the road Russia will take. You are deciding whether Russia will forge ahead or will retreat to the past when shops stocked nothing but pickled cucumbers and people travelled by train to Moscow to buy sausages," Yeltsin said.

Observing a poster on a wall in one of the premises of the complex with the sign "Yeltsin for President," the head of state joked: "Let it hang here after June 16," prompting an enthusiastic response of those present.

Yeltsin signed the decrees on measures for the development of the economic complex of the Arkhangelsk region and on the creation of the industrial production basis to develop hydrocarbon deposits on the continental shelf of the Arctic.

Under the decree on measures for the development of the economic complex in the Arkhangelsk region, the Russian government is to endorse the draft decision on state support for the economic complex in the Arkhangelsk region in 1997-2000. During the discussion of specific measures for state support for the economic complex of the Arkhangelsk region, the president suggests to proceed from the need for effective use of mineral resources, above all the development of diamonds deposit, and stabilisation of enterprises of the region in the timber industry.

The decree envisages the construction of fishing trawlers, overhauling wharves of the base of technical servicing, the construction of riverine-seagoing vessels to deliver products to areas of extreme North, the laying out of Nykzenitsa-Arkhangelsk gas pipeline. It was stressed particularly that it is necessary to pay attention to social problems, above all that of providing housing to servicemen, discharged servicemen, participants in clearing the aftermaths of the Chernobyl disaster and citizens returning from areas of extreme North. The decree points to the need of restoring historic and cultural monuments situated in the Arkhangelsk region.

The presidential decree on the development of Arctic continental shelf notes that its purpose is the preservation and development of the unique Russian scientific and production potential for building submarines, machine building for offshore extraction of oil and gas, and development of hydrocarbon deposits on the Arctic continental shelf.

The decree endorses the programme of the Russian joint-stock company Gazprom and joint-stock company Rosshelf for the development of oil and gas deposit on the Arctic continental shelf up to the year 2010 as a basis for ensuring on a long-term basis of high-tech production by organisations of the city of Severodvinsk.

Addressing a congress of the Small Russian Town's Union in Arkhangelsk, Yeltsin said that small towns in Russia constitute a major state problem which necessitates the development of a special federal programme.

Yeltsin said he had signed the decree on the federal comprehensive programme for the development of small and medium-sized towns in the Russian Federation in conditions of the economic reform. Under the decree, the government has been instructed to consider and endorse this programme within a fortnight. The president said he will be monitoring the programme's implementation himself.

**Russia: Yeltsin Supporters Explain Voting Intentions on TV Broadcast**

*LD2705083096*

[FBIS Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 0450 GMT on 27 May broadcasts an 8.5-minute election broadcast on behalf of Boris Yeltsin in which several supporters explain their voting intentions, illustrating their remarks with still photographs taken from family albums. First to speak is Russian actor Georgiy Zhzhenov who explains why he considers Yeltsin a serious reformer who needs more than his original presidential term to achieve true and irreversible reforms.

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Zhzhenov is followed by an unnamed Russian peasant woman who recalls the difficulties of Soviet collectivization of agriculture and who says she will be voting for Yeltsin because he is building a new life for people.

Next to speak is Larisa Latynina, a Soviet world-champion gymnast, who says she believes society should judge people on their merits, as in a gymnastics competition. There should be no control of people by unidentified officials unaccountable to anyone. She concludes: "I believe in Boris Nikolayevich [Yeltsin]. He is a wise man."

An unnamed peasant man then recalls the famine that arose as a result of collectivization, going on to explain that he will be voting for Yeltsin because he is giving people an opportunity to work for themselves.

The program concludes with actor and director Konstantin Raykin saying he regards Yeltsin as the only sensible option in Russia today because any going back to old ways would be a disaster. He makes the point that the old days were not all bad — there were good aspects of life then, but Russia must not go back.

**Russia: Yeltsin's Improved Poll Standing Viewed**

*MM2705112496 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 May 96 p 2*

[Article by Boris Slavin: "Will the Voter Set the Sociologists Right?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] There are 22 days left until the presidential election. What are the chances of the contenders for the top state post? Whom will the voters prefer? What motives determine the choice of those turning out to vote? These and other questions are now the center of attention for various sociological services, which are trying by means of their polls to somehow anticipate the results of the June ballot.

Admittedly, all sociologists do say with one voice that poll figures should not be equated with the real results since poll results, first, only record the state of public opinion at a given moment and, second, do not take into consideration those voters who have not yet made up their minds whom to vote for. Third and last, they do not record possible changes in the sociopolitical situation that may occur immediately before the election. Nevertheless, where do most sociologists analyzing election processes in Russia agree?

Virtually all sociological services point to the considerable voter turnout expected in the presidential election — between 70 and 80 percent of potential voters will come to the polling places in June. Many sociologists also believe that the Russian electorate differs from that in the West by virtue of its atypical behavior due to the unformed social structure of society and, consequently, the discrepancy between the voter's real position and his own appraisal of his situation. Thus, many voters who earn a good income from new kinds of activity (the shuttle trade business, for instance) may be unhappy with the reforms since they consider their professional potential untapped. At the same time some people who have become impoverished in the course of reform may regard their position as temporary or coincidental and not associate it directly with the political policy pursued by the current regime. And although most prosperous population groups will undoubtedly give preference to Boris Yeltsin while the impoverished masses will vote for Gennadiy Zyuganov, nevertheless dramatic divergences in voter behavior are possible here, which are often not taken into account by ordinary thinking or mere common sense.

You would have thought that in common-sense terms Boris Yeltsin's rating could not rise at a very rapid rate, yet all the sociological studies indicate that it is rising despite the fact that the war in Chechnya is still going on and the wage holdups have not stopped. Thus, according to the Institute for the Sociology of Parliamentarianism, his rating has risen from 8 to 19 percent over the past two months. The figures produced by the All-Russia Center for the Study of Public Opinion on Social and Economic Questions [VTsIOM] and the State Service Academy show an even greater rise. At the same time, according to their figures, the rating of the incumbent president's main rival, Gennadiy Zyuganov, has risen by just 2 percent: from 24 percent in March to 26 percent in May. What is the explanation for all this? Leaving aside the sociological services' possible bias [zaangazhirovannost], the influence of the official mass media, primarily television, which devote the bulk of their attention and time to boosting the president's positive image and fueling fear at the possibility of the opposition leader's coming to power, undoubtedly takes center stage. One should not discount the increase in that section of the electorate who have succumbed to the president's demagoguery regarding the alleged impending economic stabilization and improvement in Russians' lives, as well as those who have not escaped their czarist illusions that the authorities are always right. This kind of deification of the authorities also persists among the Communists, who sometimes fail to see the fundamental difference in the social nature of the past and incumbent authorities and between a socialist and a bourgeois state.

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What does a comparative table showing the results of the sociological polls conducted in late April and early May by various scientific centers look like? We cite in percentages voters' responses to the following question: "Which presidential candidate do you intend to vote for?"

| Presidential Contenders | VTsIOM | Institute for the Sociology of Parliamentarianism | State Service Academy |
|---|---|---|---|
| B. Yeltsin | 28 | 19 | 36 |
| G. Zyuganov | 27 | 26 | 29 |
| G. Yavlinskiy | 9 | 10 | 11 |
| Sv. Fedorov | 7 | 3 | 8 |
| V. Zhirinovskiy | 7 | 7 | 6 |
| A. Lebed | 6 | 8 | 6 |

As we can see, there is a fundamental difference in the assessment of Yeltsin's and Zyuganov's ratings by the Institute for the Sociology of Parliamentarianism and the two other scientific establishments. This difference is particularly striking given the other candidates' relatively similar ratings.

It should be pointed out that sociological figures per se do not matter to the various presidential contenders. The trouble is that these figures are often interpreted in a one-sided manner in the mass media, where biased ideologists and propagandists sometimes capitalize on the figures.

It will be bad if the voter does not make his choice on the basis of objective observations of the ruling regime's life and policy but is confused and gives in to the spell woven by the figures.

A sociologist's forecast, like any other forecast, is by its nature an exercise in probability. Unless the results are falsified (according to experts, that could represent 10-15 percent of the votes) only the voter himself can confirm or deny the sociologists' forecasts, as he did in the 1993 and 1995 elections. I am sure that he will also make his own adjustments to the results of the sociological studies conducted in June 1996.

**Russia: Zyuganov: Yeltsin Incapable of Ending Chechnya Conflict**

*LD2405193896 Moscow Radiostantsiya Ekho Moskvy in Russian 1420 GMT 24 May 96*

[Interview with presidential candidate Gennadiy Zyuganov, leader of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, by Alena Stepanenko; place and date not given; from the "Elections-96" program — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Zyuganov] Every political problem demands a prompt solution. If I had had to solve this problem from the very beginning, as soon as I learned that Dudayev wanted to go to Chechnya, a very unstable place, I would have instructed the General Staff to summon him immediately, promote him to his next rank and send him to serve in the Far East. And this would have ended the whole issue. Chechnya would have celebrated as a matter of national pride the appointment of the first ever Chechen lieutenant general. We were suggesting to Chernomyrdin, telling him that there can be no military solution there, that we must not make decisions for which we would later have to pay the highest price — thousands of lives. On our initiative, the Duma has already adopted five decisions on the peaceful solution of the problem. Moreover, we have recently adopted the decision on amnesty, as you know, proposed by Ilyukhin.

Regarding the political solution of the problem, there is a law of war which says: those who start an unjust war cannot finish it, as a rule. And Yeltsin is incapable of ending it. If only because there is a custom of blood feud in Chechnya. The losses sustained in action there already exceed 60,000 killed and there are more than 100,000 wounded. We need other leaders whom the people will trust. I sent my deputies and other people who held consultations with all the fighting sides. We are trying to convince them to sit down at the negotiating table and make peace.

We will do these things very energetically. We will immediately set up a headquarters that will deal with this problem 24 hours a day. At the same time we will convene a congress of all the North Caucasian people and involve all the neighboring republics in the

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negotiations. The role of an elder, a mullah, a religious leader or the tribal leader is paramount in the Caucasus. If this congress adopts a decision to stop this war it will become binding almost for everyone. The extremists who do not agree should given a chance to lay down their arms. We will say to them: if you lay down your arms, you will be protected by the amnesty. Those who do not agree would be dealt with more harshly.

We can easily withdraw the troops from the areas where there is no fighting but increase the blockade in the places where bandit formations and their weapons are concentrated. And, at the same time, help them to build and restore what was destroyed. But this should be done without middlemen, the money should be given directly for specific work. The latest checks demonstrated that a lot of money sent there has simply been stolen.

[Stepanenko] On what conditions will you sign a peace treaty with people who today demand the independence of Chechnya?

[Zyuganov] There will be no independence of any kind in a ruined country where fighting goes on. We are talking about the territorial integrity of the Russian Federation. As for the rights enjoyed by the constituent parts of the Russian Federation, we have to see what is what.

**Russia: Zyuganov Visits Volgograd on Campaign Visit**

*LD2605202196 Moscow NTV in Russian 1500 GMT 26 May 96*

[From the "Segodnya" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] Meanwhile, representatives of the Russian Communist Party are travelling around their homeland. The leader of the Communist Party, [Gennadiy] Zyuganov, has once again set off on a tour of the provinces. We have told you about the election fight in Moscow, and now here is a report from Volgograd.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] The presidential candidate of the opposition, Gennadiy Zyuganov, has left Moscow once again. His election tour will now move to the Russian south. First stop is Volgograd. Zyuganov arrived here at midnight but, despite the late hour, he was met with bread and salt and even dancing.

In the morning, the presidential candidate mainly commented on the economic theses set out in NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA. This time, everything printed was the truth. Moreover, judging by the words of the leader of the Communists, he prepared this text himself. It also emerged that the last amendments were made to the program yesterday in Moscow at a meeting of the bloc of popular patriotic forces and it will be printed in full on Tuesday [28 May] by SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. It is unlikely that it will differ greatly from the intentions already announced. In any case, at a meeting with directors from Volgograd Region he repeated his already familiar theses about a multi-structured economy and increasing the state sector.

[Zyuganov] In my opinion, the state should have the controlling package of shares in power engineering. It should definitely control the military-industrial complex, the transport system, and the system of communications.

[Correspondent] At the same time, Zyuganov couldn't say what total percent of property the state should have. At a news conference he merely said evasively that this figure would be suggested by experience. Turning to politics, the leader of the Communists said that in accordance with the law on transferring power passed by the Duma, he was ready to suspend his membership of the Communist Party in the event of victory. However, here he set a condition.

[Zyuganov] As for suspending my party membership, if the law has been passed then we will implement it. But, at the same time, each of us has his sympathies. I lead a huge bloc which contains more than 200 parties, movements and organizations. We have prepared a common platform. We have given a commitment to voters that if they support us at the election we will implement this program strictly.

[Correspondent] Zyuganov's sympathies were clearly demonstrated at a meeting on the Mamayev Mound [a Volgograd war monument]. Around 1,000 people gathered for it. The candidate was escorted from the pedestal to the tribune itself. The appearance of the leader of the Communists mainly excited the older generation.

[Unidentified woman] Our president! Our president! Hooray! Hooray! Our president! We don't need to say his name! [end recording]

**Russia: Volgograd Shows 'Greatly Decreased' Interest in Zyuganov**

*MM2805114596 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 May 96 p 2*

[Report by Valeriy Kornev: "Comrade Zyuganov Receives a Call at Mamayev Kurgan"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Volgograd — An act appeared on Gennadiy Zyuganov's Volgograd program which stunned even the supporters of the Communist Party leader. During the election rally, the speaker suddenly

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announced to the audience: "The telephone will start ringing in a moment."

Indeed, straight away the shrill sound of a mobile telephone, amplified by the powerful loudspeakers, rang out in the square: "Hello, is that Mamayev Kurgan? This is the maternity ward of the city hospital." A caller who did not identify herself started to carefully enunciate a text. "We know that Russian presidential candidate Gennadiy Andreyevich Zyuganov is at this moment conducting a rally with the Volgograd public. I have good news for you. Today a new person has been born on Volgograd soil — the future citizen of a great Russia."

"For a moment I thought that Zyuganov had a new baby," a man standing next to me said in bewilderment, waiting for what would happen next. But that was it — the caller had hung up. The Communist Party's task had been carried out: It had "given birth to" some good news right at the time the election rally was being held.

It is possible that this was an attempt to enhance the greatly decreased interest in the arrival of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation [CPRF] leader, which all local observers had noted. It was mainly party functionaries and journalists who were talking to him in the city's central square, and the number of Volgograd inhabitants who had gone there voluntarily was scarcely more than two dozen. They did not hasten to see Zyuganov during his fairly lengthy walk around the city center and the Volga embankment. Nor was there a very big crowd at the Lenin memorial, where the Communist Party leader laid a wreath. True, over 1,000 people gathered at Mamayev Kurgan, but, as it became clear from conversations with those present, the primary party organizations had worked hard here to ensure a big turnout.

The candidate's reflections on his ideals were very noteworthy. He accused the current president of "destroying the entire system of administration in the country — soviet, party, state, and public." According to Zyuganov, the existing system had been "our tradition." "The general secretary, the generalissimo," he said, "only appointed one secretary and the chief of state security, and all the other posts were elected." He himself specified what this "elected" system looked like: "via party-economic aktivs and party and youth organizations." Comment is superfluous, as they say.

**Russia: Zyuganov Blames His Lack of Specifics on Government**

*LD2705215696 Moscow NTV in Russian 1500 GMT 27 May 96*

[From the "Segodnya" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] Gennadiy Zyuganov is continuing his election tour of the regions that will end on 6 June, in the major cities of Siberia. Today the chairman of the TsK KPRF [Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation] was getting to know the life of the City on the Don [Rostov-na-Dony].

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Gennadiy Zyuganov decided to devote the whole of today to campaigning in the Rostov Region. He began in Novocherkassk. The leader of the Communists was met here by pickets of Cossacks hostile to him in particular and the Communist Party as a whole. [video shows people holding placard, painted like the Russian tricolor, on which is written "Russia. Democratic elections. Yeltsin is our president"]

Nonetheless, there were quite a few Zyuganov supporters out. Lively arguments about the character of the candidate and his entourage began among the waiting crowd outside the Cultural Center where the campaign meeting was taking place. Predictions about the Cossacks' attitude to Zyuganov were justified. People here have not yet forgotten how a demonstration of workers was shot down in Novocherkassk in 1962. [video shows people holding placard that read: "The victims of '62 are crying out"]

[Unidentified uniformed Cossack] The figure of eight dead is only the official version. Several other people in the crowd were killed and now we have found more than 26 people [sentence as heard].

[Correspondent] Zyuganov's supporters think that the episode should not be recalled during the Leader's [Vozhd — a title commonly used for Stalin] visit to the site of the tragedy.

[Unidentified angry woman] You are making capital out of it now. They do not know what happened in '62, but we know.

[Correspondent] While argument raged on the street about whether or not the tragedy of '62 should be remembered, Gennadiy Zyuganov told the people inside the Cultural Center that he did not intend shooting anyone on coming to power.

The hard impressions left by the reception in Novocherkassk were smoothed over in Novoshakhtinsk. The miners' difficult situation contributed to mutual

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understanding. Zyuganov asked the local townspeople to help monitor the election. The only thing specific in all the statements of the leader of the Communists was criticism of the current authority. However, the presidential candidate prefers to set out his plans obscurely. In Rostov, for instance, he was unable to say exactly how long he will need to restore the economy.

[Zyuganov, addressing news conference] In order to reply to the series of specific questions you are putting to me I need to have reliable data on the state of affairs in the country. We have asked the government among others for statistics. They do not give them! They do not give the results even for the current state of affairs. How can you reply to a question specifically when you do not know the true situation?

[Correspondent] Zyuganov's schedule ended with a rally in the summer theater of Rostov's recreation park. He told an audience there that he will definitely restore Mother Russia.

By virtue of his caution, Gennadiy Zyuganov does not lend himself to improvisation. In this he certainly loses out to Boris Yeltsin. Having poured out everything he had to say about his economic program in Volgograd, he will hardly be able to tell voters anything new in the next few days. [end recording]

**Russia: Presidential Election Broadcast by Zyuganov**

*LD2705130896 Moscow Russian Public Television First Channel Network in Russian 0440 GMT 27 May 96*

[Election broadcast by Gennadiy Zyuganov, leader of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation and presidential candidate — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Video shows a still of Zyuganov standing against a background of a countryside landscape and the caption "Zyuganov Gennadiy Andreyevich, a candidate for the post of president of the Russian Federation"; cuts to show views of the Kremlin, an aerial view of central Moscow, countryside landscape]

[Zyuganov] Electing a Russian president this time is not merely about choosing a person, it is about choosing your own future, the future of your children, and the future of your fatherland. The fatherland is an indivisible heritage. It embraces the land and the environment given to us by God and by our forebears, who defended this land. [video cuts to show Zyuganov standing in a park]

Our family name stems from the word zyuganka — an old frost-resisting grade of Russian wheat. All my relatives devoted themselves wholeheartedly to the fatherland. All of them defended it and all of them are real patriots of their fatherland. [video shows still archive photographs]

My father fought first in Bessarabia and lost his leg while defending Odessa and Sevastopol. He came back in 1943. [video now shows Zyuganov in a study]

Our family believes in discipline. My mother was my teacher for four years — from the first year in school to the fourth year — and in school I called her mother only once in the four years. She was a tough woman, and our relations in school were those of a teacher and a student. [video shows Zyuganov's mother and other relatives] She has recently turned 80.

I had excellent marks in school in the fifth year and after. I graduated from school with a medal [for academic achievements]. Then I worked as a teacher of various subjects. Then I entered the physics and mathematics faculty of the Orlov pedagogical institute. After the first year at the institute I was called up to serve in the army. [video shows Zyuganov in the streets, archive photographs]

I served in radiological, antinuclear, and chemical intelligence — a rather difficult branch of the army which was just being formed at that time. Then I came back to the institute. I taught philosophy for several years. When Andropov came to power, I was invited to the Central Committee [of the Communist Party]. [video now shows Zyuganov in an office]

I have a big family. My elder son graduated from the Bauman university. My daughter-in-law is a postgraduate there. I have two grandsons: one is seven, the other is over two. My daughter is also married. My wife is an ordinary engineer at a watch factory. [video shows Zyuganov in the streets, family scenes]

I am Russian by blood and by spirit, by the way of thinking. [video shows archive photos, Zyuganov in parliament; cuts to show Zyuganov standing against a background of an open landscape with woods, river, apartment blocks in the distance] When I am thinking about my country, my fatherland, what springs to my mind is my native village. My little village of Mymrino is situated on the border of three regions: Orlov, Kaluga, and Bryansk. [video shows a village, archive photographs] I was born in this village.

The motherland is an all-embracing concept. [Lake] Baykal, [for example,] is also the motherland. You know, we were at Baykal last year, and one morning we came to look at it, at its might and expanses, and I felt a lump in my throat, and not because the lake is the main reservoir of fresh water, but because primordial purity, of which we all should take care, remains intact there.

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[video shows views of a lake] No one came here to bring the market or democracy. Everyone came here for land and wealth. [video cuts to show Zyuganov talking to an unidentified woman]

[The Woman] If you are elected president...

[Zyuganov, interrupting] Are you a geology engineer? Where did you work?

[The woman] At Gidrospetsgeologiya. I am still their employee nominally, but we have not been paid since February. Will I work as a professional and have a professional's salary, or will I continue to be a cleaning lady?

[Zyuganov] You will have no job unless the state has a normal policy and money allocated to this very important branch [of economy].

[The woman] To cherish hopes again?

[Zyuganov] Not only to cherish hopes. One must take action at once. I am sure an economic recovery is possible. Our land is still there, the factories are still there, not all of them have been looted. Our natural resources are very rich. We have all the prerequisites for a normal life and work. And mind you, no one wants to shut off the West or the East. We just want that 700 best technologies designed by our scientists and experts are implemented here first, then there will be a breakthrough into the 21st century. We must move forward, and only forward. Even if everyone votes for turning back tomorrow, this will be impossible.

The collapse of the country and the CPSU was caused by very serious reasons. We have thought them through. And we have said openly: The reasons lie in monopoly — the monopoly on power, on the truth, on property. As a result, the top became rotten and betrayed its friends, its allies, its country,and its entrepreneurs. And it is still betraying them. Our country has not collapsed only because the middle layer of managers - managers in agriculture, communal services, public health, and transportation has survived. They are still holding their teams together despite that fact that money does not work, connections have been severed, and many branches [of economy] are now in a pitiful state. Therefore, the main task now...[Zyuganov pauses] I would like to appeal to those who can work and do work normally: They should have no worries whatsoever. We will help and support them, and no one will look at the color of their party cards. The main criteria are professionalism and honesty.

I think a great awakening of the nation, of the people is under way. People are beginning to realize that it is impossible to get out of the dramatic and difficult situation without a sense of patriotism and fatherland.

I was once asked why I was doing all of this: I have a good education, I know all the major managers and I could become a very rich man, with all this lawlessness around. I told them that I felt pain for the great power. How to resolve the crisis peacefully? What to do to make the worker do his job: to work, to create, and to apply his skills? How come the richest country cannot give even pennies to the old, the sick, the teachers, and the doctors? Who is to blame? What shall we do today, tomorrow, and the day after tomorrow? This was an understandable question. It is very good that we have the inner feeling that we must resolve the crisis peacefully. We declared a long time ago: We are prepared to negotiate with anyone who cares for peace in Russia and the well-being of every family. [We are prepared to negotiate] with the government, the president, and with any political forces. The task of ensuring stability is a task for political forces. But what could stability be based on? It could be based on respect for the country's history, the workers, on pursuing the policy of a majority in the interest of a majority, and on the basis of democratic elections, that is to say, to ensure that a citizen could change the situation by electing a political force to his liking: to come to a polling station and cast his vote. And all the rest would sign an agreement that they would abide by the will of the citizens and respect their choice.

We are prepared to observe the rules strictly. I love Russia very much, I respect my people, I have no intention to leave the country. And I want to see peace here. [Video shows the same still picture of Zyuganov standing against a countryside background]

**Russia: Yavlinskiy Challenges Zyuganov to Television Debates**

*LD2705160496 Moscow NTV in Russian 1500 GMT 27 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Election campaign news clearly took second place today. Not that there is much to report in any case. One important piece of news is for now the sole property of our TV company. Grigoriy Yavlinskiy has told us of his intention to hold direct TV debates with another presidential candidate, Gennadiy Zyuganov. Times and dates were not given. Nor, incidentally, has he received a reply yet.

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**Russia: Yavlinskiy Details Main Tasks of Next President**

*LD2705222196 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1745 GMT 27 May 96*

[Election broadcast by presidential candidate Grigoriy Yavlinskiy — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Yavlinskiy] Russia's new president must resolve at least three main tasks. The first task is to stop the war in Chechnya. The second task is to curb crime. The third and probably the most important task is to improve the economy and raise living standards. If the Russian president fulfills at least this, we can say that he coped well with his tasks.

What does it mean to stop the war in Chechnya? This means for all of us that our soldiers, our children will no longer be killed there. This means that no one will be killed there anymore, including old people, children, and women, no one. So what should be done to achieve this? First and foremost, it is necessary to ensure that those waging the war in Chechnya obey the president. All sorts of orders can be issued today, but they are ignored, and the war goes on and on. It is necessary to expose those who are interested in continuing the war and remove them from their posts. We will never stop the war until we do this.

The next step should be direct talks with the separatists. During the talks it is necessary to settle the issue without any preconditions, saying that if there are no terrorist acts and if no drugs, weapons, or bandits are sent to Russia, we will withdraw out troops from Chechnya, create a security zone, and begin talks to determine Chechnya's status, and, if need be, hold a referendum. This should be carried out in Chechnya urgently. It is up to the new president to do this, and most likely to do this personally; otherwise, the war cannot be stopped.

The problem of crime affects everyone. There is crime everywhere. Crime can enter anybody's home, anybody's apartment. First and foremost, we should curb crime in our streets. This type of crime disrupts the lives of all of us. To achieve this, much has to be done in our police departments. We should increase wages of those who work there. We should provide them and their families with life insurance. We should also provide them with all the necessary technical equipment. To do this we need territorial police, the police that depend upon residents living on any particular territory — be it a district, a town, a village, or a group of settlements. They depend on the residents who live there and these are the people who decide whether the police are doing a good job. Moscow should hand over all the necessary resources to the local police, including material and technical resources. This is where the fight against crime should start. This will be the real beginning. If the local police fail to carry out the task, local residents will be able to replace them. No one in Moscow can possibly catch criminals and thieves operating so far away from Moscow. All this should be done in the regions, but all the necessary conditions should be created for this. Finally, it is necessary to do what they have already tried to do several times: to develop a system of street alarms, to set up a system of patrols, and to instruct the police to protect private property and to make them responsible for citizens' private property.

We will never be able to improve the work of our law enforcement bodies if we do not take a firm stance toward those who betray us, who have links with criminals, and who accept bribes. We should treat them as traitors of our country. We have no other option today. These measures will be most tough.

The prompt payment of wages is a very important issue. Discussing it feels really strange. The prompt payment of wages requires no great effort. This issue has nothing to do with the economy. It is the question of one's conscience to make sure that everyone is paid promptly, even those modest pensions and wages we have now. The main thing, however, is to increase wages and pensions and raise living standards. This is needed to kickstart our economy. It is impossible to get the reforms going when we have such poverty and when this poverty affects the mind and the well-being of every individual. We have the money to do this. For example, we have the money for a five-fold increase in child benefits and a two-fold increase in pensions, and for a wage increase for teachers, doctors, the military, the police, and all those paid from the budget by an average of 50 percent. We have the money to do many other things and increase the minimum wage. We have the money for this.

Where is the money coming from? First, by ending the Chechen war, we will get at least 10 trillion rubles [R]. If we lower taxes to 25-35 percent, those not paying taxes at present will start paying them. We could get almost R200 trillion from this alone. If we remove privileges from all those with connections in the government, we will get about R100 trillion just in taxes alone. If we stop the export of money, we will have at least R10 trillion more in our budget. All these figures are real. This is our real money in the budget. Any proper economic analysis points to such possibilities in our economy. This money will be enough to kickstart the economy and introduce wage and pension increases and reduce poverty. More money can be made available to us if we introduce cuts in the upkeep of top statesmen and top officials. This expenditure is excessive.

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You can ask me why the present authorities are not doing this if it is that easy to do. Because they have different aims. Because they think about different things. Because they are not professional enough. Because they care more about themselves and about some thought-up things such as the establishment of constitutional order, for example. It is the question of skills, professionalism, and political will. If we have them, we will always be able to finance any additional expenditure. The sum of money to finance all those payments I have mentioned will amount to about R350 trillion. This sum of money can be obtained from sources I have just told you about.

The president will be able to tell his people about a cessation of bloodshed in Chechnya in 30 days, about the introduction of a new taxation system in spring 1997, about cuts in the upkeep of top government officials and the state apparatus in autumn 1996 and in a year's time in summer 1997, about steps taken to increase wages, pensions, and benefits.

I think that the Russian president is a person who can hear what people in his country are saying. He is able to understand what they want and he can fulfill this. He knows what the citizens of his country want and he knows how to provide it. I think this is the most important thing for the Russian president.

**Russia: Maskhadov Says Chechens To Vote for Communists**

*LD2505193196 St. Petersburg Fifth Channel Television Network in Russian 1555 GMT 25 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Aslan Maskhadov, chief of staff of the Chechen armed formations, has said that Chechens are ready to vote for the Communists at the upcoming presidential election. Should they win, Maskhadov said, civil war will break out in Russia.

**Russia: Supreme Court Decision May Force Election Postponement**

*LD2405135596 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1332 GMT 24 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, May 24 (Interfax) — Russia's Supreme Court ordered the Central Electoral Commission (CEC) to amend the sample ballot paper Friday, meeting a suit by presidential hopeful Aman Tuleyev.

Tuleyev appealed to the court to add the information that he is a deputy of the Federation Council to the ballot paper already approved on May 16. The verdict is final and is not liable to appeal.

Tuleyev said his membership in the Federation Council was "evidence of state and political activities nationwide rather than within the Kemerovo region alone" and will give him an advantage over other contenders. The sample ballot paper stated only that Tuleyev was the chairman of the Kemerovo region legislature.

Tuleyev was not present at the Supreme Court hearings Friday, because he is on a campaign trip to the North Caucasus. An expert of the Communist Party faction in the State Duma, Vadim Solovev, represented Tuleyev in court.

Commission lawyer Vitaliy Khavkin blamed the Supreme Court and the Prosecutor General's Office for "engagement in politics" in an interview with Interfax.

"This verdict may result in the postponement of the presidential elections," Khavkin said. The May 16 CEC meeting had decided to print the approved sample of ballot paper and supply regional electoral commissions with them by May 26, he said. As much as 70 percent of the ballot papers needed have been printed, he said.

**Russia: Yeltsin Leads Zyuganov in Two Polls**

*LD2605194196 Moscow NTV in Russian 1700 GMT 26 May 96*

[From the "Itogi" program]

[FBIS Summary] In a six-minute report, announcer Yevgeniy Kiselev presents results from two polls on the Russian presidential elections.

The All-Russian Public Opinion Center was commissioned by "Itogi" to carry out a poll from 21 to 22 May. It reports an expected turnout of 73 percent. People who intend to vote were asked: "Whom will you vote for on 16 June?" The results, in percentages, are:

| | |
|---|---|
| Boris Yeltsin | 33 |
| Gennadiy Zyuganov | 26 |
| Grigoriy Yavlinskiy | 9 |
| Aleksandr Lebed | 7 |
| Vladimir Zhirinovskiy | 7 |
| Svyatoslav Fedorov | 4 |
| Aman Tuleyev | 1 |
| Martin Shakkum | 1 |
| Mikhail Gorbachev | 1 |
| Vladimir Bryntsalov | 0 |
| Yuriy Vlasov | 0 |

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Asked whom they would vote for in a second round if the choice was between Yeltsin and Zyuganov, 50 percent said Yeltsin and 37 percent said Zyuganov.

"Itogi" also commissioned a similar poll from the Russian Public Opinion and Market Research Institute, which was held over 18-19 May. This poll predicts an election turnout of 87 percent. The results in percentages are:

| | |
|---|---|
| Boris Yeltsin | 31 |
| Gennadiy Zyuganov | 27 |
| Grigoriy Yavlinskiy | 7 |
| Vladimir Zhirinovskiy | 5 |
| Svyatoslav Fedorov | 5 |
| Aleksandr Lebed | 4 |
| Aman Tuleyev | 1 |
| Mikhail Gorbachev | 1 |
| Martin Shakkum | 0 |
| Vladimir Bryntsalov | 0 |
| Yuriy Vlasov | 0 |

Asked whom they would vote for in a second round with the choice of Yeltsin or Zyuganov, 43 percent said Yeltsin and 32 percent said Zyuganov.

**Russia: Poll Shows Yeltsin Trailing 'Far Behind' Zyuganov**

*LD2705085096 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0826 GMT 27 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, May 27 (Interfax) — A recent public opinion poll recently taken in Russia shows Russian President Boris Yeltsin trailing far behind his main rival, Communist Party leader Gennadiy Zyuganov, as the presidential race approaches its climax on June 16.

Yeltsin would receive 27 percent and Zyuganov 42 percent if elections were held today, according to a May 6-10 public opinion poll involving 6,000 respondents across Russia conducted by the Institute of Parliamentary Sociology.

In his interview with the newspaper NOVAYA GAZETA, Institute Director Nugzar Betaneli pointed out that Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, the leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, can collect 7 percent in the first round, Gen. Aleksandr Lebed 8 percent, eye-surgeon Svyatoslav Fedorov 3 percent and Yabloko leader Grigoriy Yavlinskiy 10 percent.

At the same time, Betaneli said that the "internal dynamics" of public opinion poll results indicates "a growing tendency in the position of voters" — "the communists' ratings have stabilized" as they have practically "exhausted their potential," while Yeltsin's ratings "continue to grow."

"The dominating tendencies in society show that in the long run the second round will be won by the incumbent president," Betaneli added.

He believes that representatives of the so-called "Third Force" — proclaimed by Yavlinskiy, Lebed and Fedorov — have lost their time "to unite the democrats by criticizing the present political power."

Although their ratings have climbed, the main focus is now on "two candidates — Yeltsin and Zyuganov," he said.

Betaneli described as a "deception" and "bluff" assertions about the social homogeneity of their electorates. On the contrary, the supporters of Yeltsin and Zyuganov include both "the poor and the rich, the young and the elderly, the educated and not very educated people," he said.

As another "myth," Betaneli noted a tendency to "exaggerate the role of regional mass media in forming public opinion." He believes that the "main role here is being played by national television and the press, as well as an effective system of propaganda in the regions."

**Russia: Pollsters Debate Possible Results of Presidential Elections**

*LD2405171396 Moscow Russian Public Television First Channel Network in Russian 1600 GMT 23 May 96*

[Live studio debate between Yuriy Levada, head of the All-Russia Center for the Study of Public Opinion, and Nugzar Betaneli, head of the Institute of Sociology and Parliamentarianism; moderated by Aleksandr Lyubimov; from the "One on One" program]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Lyubimov] Mirror, mirror on the wall, who is the fairest of them all? But your mirror is somewhat distorted. You [addressing Levada] say: 28 percent for Yeltsin, 27 for Zyuganov. You [addressing Betaneli] say: 19 for Yeltsin, 26 for Zyuganov. That is to say, you have agreed on Zyuganov — and with Zyuganov.

[Betaneli] There are different grounds here. Our figures of 26 versus 21 show the percentage of all the respondents, whether they are going to cast their votes or not.

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As far as the forecast is concerned, we are dealing with a different share. Our latest figures, based on a poll conducted among 6,000 people throughout Russia, show: Zyuganov may get 39 percent in the first round, Yeltsin — 30 percent of those who will actually come to the polling stations on 16 June.

[Lyubimov, addressing Levada] What about your figures?

[Levada] Ours? You see, the main point of the first round is to select the candidates for a second round. We have no disagreements here, since these candidates will be Zyuganov and Yeltsin. A third one is unlikely.

[Lyubimov] A third round?

[Levada] No, a third person. Then, with what score will they go into a second round? On the whole, this is not terribly important — what is important is to go into the second round — but it is important from the psychological point of view. If the gap is too big, then, naturally, people feel low: Why bother to vote? If the gap is small, then the campaign between the rounds heats up. This is my guess, anyway. [words indistinct]

[Lyubimov] A drama of people's grief, as it were.

[Levada] We will see: expectation or grief or something else. Let us talk about figures. Our data is two weeks old. New figures are currently being processed, so I do not know the outcome. As for the old figures, Boris Nikolayevich will get 28 percent and Gennadiy Andreyevich [Zyuganov] will get 1 percent less — well, in fact, it is the same figure — 27 percent.

[Lyubimov] The mirror in the fairy tale came to a bad end — it was broken. I wish you could come to an agreement. It is impossible: a 12-percent difference. A week ago it was a 19-percent gap between your figures. This is all very strange.

[Betaneli] There is one very simple test: elections. [passage omitted]

[Betaneli] Some organizations made mistakes in 1993, but I am proud to say that we predicted Zhirinovskiy's victory, and some people argued with us. I am also more or less happy with our forecast for the 1995 elections. [passage omitted]

[Lyubimov] I still cannot understand, so I will press to the end: According to your figures [addressing Levada], Yeltsin leads Zyuganov in the first round already, and according to you [addressing Betaneli], he gets barely 19 percent.

[Levada] Not by much. So far, their ratings are approximately the same.

[Betaneli] I can explain the developments we are witnessing. Two and a half months ago, in early March, Yeltsin had 8 percent and Zyuganov 24. Zyuganov was well ahead. In early March it looked as though Zyuganov was going to win. Then a wonderful transformation happened. Zyuganov's ratings and public support have frozen at 26 percent. All the polls show again and again: 25, 27, 26, 26, and the latest figure is 26 again. What is happening with Yeltsin? He has climbed from 8 percent to 21 percent among all the voters. But we are psychologists, we are sociologists. We know that not all the voters will come, or supporters of one of the candidate might turn out in greater numbers. Bearing this in mind, we say: If the situation does not change, Yeltsin will get 30 percent of the votes, and Zyuganov 39. Of course, changes are possible, and we will inform you of them.

[Lyubimov] [passage omitted] Yuriy Aleksandrovich [Levada] is lulling us into false sense of security with his forecasts. Everyone thinks that Yeltsin will win, he will go into a second round; his entourage is happy, everyone is happy. On the other hand, you [addressing Betaneli] keep them on their toes. Look, Yeltsin's headquarters have been operating for two weeks now, everything has changed, and they have made some progress. [passage omitted]

[Levada] We use one method, Nugzar Irakliyevich [Betaneli] is experimenting in a slightly different way. We are trying to probe that very complicated thing from different sides. I pay respect to any serious analytical method. But we do not only probe, we also deliberate a little bit. Let us consider one example: How many votes did Zyuganov and his like get in the latest elections? They got one fourth of the votes.

[Lyubimov] As many as they had in 1992, and they say there are reforms under way! I do not know. They will vote as they voted in 1992. The only problem is that Yeltsin is split now.

[Levada] As in December 1995, therefore, I can hardly believe he can get 39 percent, as Nugzar Irakliyevich says. Where will he get them from? Zyuganov has reached his peak and there he remains. His peak is as it was before: a very stable, solid, organized group of people. It does not shrink or grow. Fluctuations of 1 or 2 percent do not count, even within error margins. Therefore, I think Zyuganov has already exhausted his resources. He could probably pick up something in a second round. That is how we live, that is how we count.

[Lyubimov] Yuriy Levada. Stay with us. [A text with biographical information on Levada is then shown scrolling up the screen: "Yuriy Levada, 66, director of the All-Russia Center for the Study of Public

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Opinion (VTsIOM). Graduated from the philosophy faculty of Moscow State University in 1952. A degree in philosophy, author of books and articles on sociology. A month before the elections VTsIOM predicted Yeltsin's victory over Zyuganov in the first round."]

[Lyubimov] Thanks for the applause. I am going to say something nasty now.

[Betaneli] Go ahead. It is your job. [audience laughs]

[Lyubimov] The rumor has it that it all depends on the customers.

[Levada] Just as in your department.

[Lyubimov] Excuse me, but who pays you for your research?

[Levada] The customer pays, of course, who else?

[Lyubimov] Therefore, your customer [to Levada] is probably a democrat, and your customer [to Betaneli] is a Communist.

[Levada, laughing] Why?

[Lyubimov] Because you [Levada] are pleasing the democrats, and you [Betaneli] are pleasing Gennadiy Andreyevich [Zyuganov]. [passage omitted]

[Lyubimov] Look what happens. Every politician has his own tame pollster. Svyatoslav Fedorov quotes his pollsters who say he is running second. Our recent patient Bryntsalov — that is not my expression, that is how the Duma calls him — says he has secret information showing he is also second. Zhirinovskiy said during the latest elections that someone took his money to improve his position in the ratings. Gorbachev says, of course, that one should not trust pollsters and Raisa Maksimovna [Gorbacheva] is a pollster herself. These were quotes. [passage omitted]

[Lyubimov] OK, you are doctors of the Western school who will always tell the truth to a terminally ill patient, are you not?

[Levada] Yes, we always tell him. We tell him as much as we know. But the patient does not like that.

[Lyubimov] He asks for your services all the same?

[Levada] No, he does not. He says: I know better. You have just quoted him. I will not mention any names.

[Betaneli] Our position is better because our customers realize that they need the truth, and only the truth. In fact, our customers approach us without any hope that their ratings will improve, and so on. There are many parties and candidates in this campaign. I can say in general that all customers, any customers want the truth.

[Lyubimov] My feelings are that Yeltsin's headquarters started working after you had said he would get 7 or 9 percent of the votes.

[Betaneli] I will be very glad if opinion polls finally become the criterion of the truth and make candidates go to the people. [passage omitted] [A text is shown scrolling up the screen: "Nugzar Betaneli, 45, director of the Institute of Sociology of Parliamentarianism. Graduated from the journalistic faculty of Tbilisi University. A degree in psychology, author of many publications on sociology. His forecast for several recent elections were absolutely correct."]

[Lyubimov] Thanks for the applause. What makes people vote for a particular candidate? The election campaign, party political broadcasts, and candidates' speeches: How do all these influence people?

[Levada] What are the reasons? There are two basic reasons: First, people want more stability in the country; second, they want changes for the better. These are two basic reasons. There are other reasons, too, but these two are basic. The reasons are conflicting with each other in men's hearts and our society because what we have now is stability. If you want names, Yeltsin stands for stability, whether some people like it or not. People think that stability — the relative stability we have now — is the main thing Yeltsin can give us.

[Lyubimov] But at least one quarter of the population think that changes are needed, do they not?

[Levada] Approximately, but more people want stability. There are about 40 percent of them, and about one quarter wants change. Those who want change vote differently — they vote for those who offer them a different program.

[Betaneli] I respect your opinion very much, but I cannot agree with you when you say Yeltsin is a positive force, because we are sociologists.

[Levada] I did not say positive, I said stable.

[Betaneli] Or stable. The problem is that 20 percent of the people in our society want the most radical changes, even at the cost of political confrontation. Approximately two-thirds of the people want evolution. Common problems worry both groups: the standard of living, fear of crime, and the Chechen problem. I would like to draw you attention to a problem that has been forgotten: the problem of social dignity — that gap between the rich and the poor and the loss of rights because people do not have equal rights now. Some children can attend more privileged schools, others cannot. All that influences people's minds. Although there are people who want change even at the price

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of social upheaval, nevertheless, everyone agrees that Russia needs high standards of living, absence of crime, and, of course, a settlement to the Chechen war.

[Lyubimov] It is better to be healthy but rich, rather than poor but sick. [passage omitted]

What is different about your methods? Why are your results so different?

[Betaneli] Selection. We have 6,000 respondents, and you [addressing Levada] have 1,500.

[Levada] We have in fact 1,600 now. We think this number is sufficient and can be checked. The main thing is that this is a homogenous group. We work with people at home.

[Betaneli] I see. When you canvass people at home, you strip them of anonymity. Just think: You hear a knock on the door, and someone says: Hello, I am a pollster. Who will you vote for?

[Lyubimov] For Yeltsin, of course.

[Betaneli] Therefore, the fact that you canvass people at home increases people's conformity and makes them avoid conflicts with the authorities. What other methods are there? At work, on the street. One must combine all methods. [passage omitted]

When we ask people if they are going to cast their votes, 80 percent say yes. However, only 70 percent will actually turn out because there is the factor of 0.85. When a certain number of people say: Yes, we will do it, always multiply the number by 0.85.

[Lyubimov] A country of dishonest people!

[Levada] It is a good figure. We are a country of people who tend to exaggerate. That is quite normal. However, I think the figure will be even bigger.

[Lyubimov] You mean even fewer will turn out?

[Levada] You see, our figures stand at 73 percent at the moment. They will turn out, they say. I think about 70 or a little less will turn out. [passage omitted]

[Questioner] Whose influence is bigger in elections: big cities, like Moscow, St. Petersburg, Sverdlovsk, and Novorossiysk, or the provinces?

[Levada] Their influence is determined by their share of Russia's population. Moscow and St. Petersburg account for 6 percent of Russia's population. The big cities one third. The small towns also one third. The countryside represents one quarter of the population. That is the proportion of their influence. The turnout is approximately the same in big and small towns. The campaign has heated up considerably.

[Questioner] Who will the Army vote for?

[Levada] I think there are different people in the Army, just like everywhere else.

[Questioner] Does the third force have a chance, if they unite?

[Betaneli] Unfortunately, we conduct research and see that things are not as simple as they seem. Sometimes we think: Here are three men [Aleksandr Lebed, Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, and Svyatoslav Fedorov], each with their own supporters. They gather and elect one. So what? Does it mean that the supporters of the other two will automatically pass to him? No. They might go elsewhere. Our research shows there are no strict laws here. Suppose someone gives his votes to Yavlinskiy. This does not mean that Yavlinskiy will automatically get Lebed's votes. They will spread across the board. There is a danger in creating coalitions, although a coalition is needed. A coalition is not just a cosy agreement. It also means one must convince the voters.

[Lyubimov] You mean, if Yavlinskiy becomes prime minister, his voters might think he has betrayed them and vote for Zyuganov? Am I right?

[Betaneli] No. He still has to persuade them that this was the right thing to do, explain his stance, and persuade them to vote for the one he has joined — it doesn't matter whom, let us do things the right way.

[Levada] It looks as though they have missed the boat.

[Lyubimov] Thank God for that. [audience laughs] [passage omitted]

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**CIS: ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 28 May**

*LD2805055396 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0512 GMT 28 May 96*

["Press Review" — ITAR-TASS headline]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW May 28 (ITAR-TASS) — Follows a review of Tuesday's Moscow-based Russian newspapers dated May 28. The press highlights the talks in Moscow between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Chechen separatits' leader Zelimkhan Yandarbiyev.

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI on Yeltsin's two moves that made all the difference.

"Boris Yeltsin's two unconventional moves have rendered his policy with regard to Chechnya understandable to every person in Russia," the newspaper writes.

After on March 31 Yeltsin came forward with a plan for a peaceful settlement of the Chechnya conflict, he made another two strong moves: he announced his forthcoming trip to Chechnya and then decided to meet with Yandarbiyev. All this was made against the background of a fundamental change achieved in military confrontation in Chechnya by Federal troops after taking Bamut. It seems that the traditional formula of Russia's Caucasus policy has been utilised again: "Quelling, peacemaking, magnanimity".

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA on the military situation in Chechnya.

The military situation in Chechnya has been tipped by Federal troops into their favour. The fall of Goyskoye village and particularly Bamut again brought the Army of Ichkeria to the possibility of an utter defeat. According to military sources, the command of the militants lost control of units, the system of communications has been disrupted, and a shortage of ammunition is felt.

A similar situation was observed a year ago. At that time one month not enough for the Army to press home its attack against the Dudayev men. The tragedy in Budennovsk occured. After that, the outcome of long negotiations was only that the militants regained most of strongpoints they had lost during fighting.

According to Colonel-General Anatoliy Kvashnin, Commander of the North Caucasian Military District, "the taking of Bamut is the end of the war from the political point of view". Bamut is a symbol. The militants boasted that the Russian soldier had not set foot in the area even during the Caucasian war last century.

"At present, there is no place in Chechnya any longer where the militants could proclaim a state of their own," the newspaper notes.

ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA on migration.

More than 2.7 million people have migrated to Russia over the past three years. Over one million people have been given the status of refugee or forced migrant by the beginning of the current year. The war in Chechnya forced more than 600,000 people abandon the places of their permanent residence and apply for help.

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI on measures to develop Russia's judicial bodies.

The newspaper comments on President Boris Yeltsin's Decree "On Measures To Develop the Judicial Bodies of the Russian Federation". The Decree envisages a substantial rise in their role and responsibility in the implementation of the legal policy of the State.

The new tasks placed by the president upon the Russian Ministry of Justice signify the start or a cardinal reform of ministerial structures and functions within the framework of the legal reform in the Russian Federation.

In the opinion of Justice Minister Valentin Kovalev, a rise in the role of the Ministry of Justice, its bodies and institutions in effectuating a legal reform is an inevitable and objective process which one cannot do without in a law-governed state. The presidential decree vests the ministry with control functions, not supervisory ones. Specifically, the ministry is given the right to make representations to the President to call officials to account.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA on the unveiling of a monument to Nicholas II.

The newspaper reports that a ceremony to unveil a monument to the slain Russian Emperor Nicholas II took place in Tayninskoye village neat Mytishchi in the grounds of the community of the Church of Annunciation. The sponsor — the International Slav Cultural Centre — timed the event to coincide with the centenary of the Emperor's coronation. The monument has been made by promient sculptor Vyacheslav Klykov.

**CIS: Transcaucasian Countries To Take Part in Summit**

*LD2605083196 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0608 GMT 26 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tbilisi, May 26 (INTERFAX) — Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia have supported the idea of convening a Caucasian summit between the three Transcaucasian countries and Russia in the Russian town of Kislovodsk.

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Visiting Russian Deputy Prime Minister Aleksey Bolshakov and the Georgian side on Saturday coordinated the draft declaration on peace and stability in the Caucasus that is expected to be signed in Kislovodsk on June 3, the Georgian presidential press service told Interfax.

The draft declaration was earlier coordinated with the Azerbaijani and Armenian leadership. The Azerbaijani and Armenian presidents, Geydar Aliyev and Levon Ter-Petrosyan, have agreed to take part in the Kislovodsk summit.

The idea of convening a Caucasian summit in Kislovodsk has been put forward by Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

**CIS: No Plans To Deploy Troops on Iranian Border**

*MK2805110696 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 May 96 p 1*

[Report by Mikhail Gerasimov: "Azerbaijan Might Join the 'Union of Four.' Baku Does Not Intend To Station Russian Border Guards on the Iranian Border"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The statement by CIS Executive Secretary Ivan Korotchenya that "Azerbaijan might in the very near future consider acceding to the treaty on economic and social integration between Belarus, Russia, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan," can be described as sensational. True, according to Korotchenya, it is difficult to say when this will happen, but further integration of these Commonwealth republics can possibly proceed with Azerbaijan's participation. This statement by the CIS executive secretary was made after a meeting with Geydar Aliyev. This subject was also raised during Mr. Korotchenya's meeting with the Republic's Prime Minister Fuad Guliyev and Azerbaijani parliament Speaker Rasul Guliyev.

As before, Azerbaijan assesses the CIS's efficacy based on its ability to impact on the situation around the Karabakh crisis. Therefore the subjects of the talks in Baku were to some degree or other linked with the Karabakh problem. In this connection Korotchenya assured Baku that "the Commonwealth will redouble the efforts to resolve the Karabakh crisis." At the same time this decision by the Azerbaijani leadership was also influenced by the upcoming presidential election in Russia. Local observers are pointing out that Baku would thus like to show moral support for Boris Yeltsin, who has lately been actively seeking to consolidate integration processes within the CIS.

The intention to join the "union of four," however, does not at all mean that Azerbaijan will agree to the stationing of Russian border guards on the Azerbaijani-Iranian border. Aleksandr Suvorov, press secretary of the Federal Border Service [FPS], has said in an interview with INTERFAX that Russian border guards have no plans to protect the Azerbaijani-Iranian border. He expressed amazement over the circulation in the media of a report, citing FPS Director Andrey Nikolayev, that Russian border troops are soon to be deployed on the Azerbaijani-Iranian border. According to Suvorov, on 17 May, in Moscow, Presidents Boris Yeltsin and Geydar Aliyev signed an agreement on cooperation on border matters that envisions, with due account for mutual interests and on the basis of national legislations, exchange of information and experience in organizing border protection and border control and measures to combat terrorism, arms smuggling, drug trafficking, and illegal entry and exit.

**Baltics: Baltic States To Discuss Cooperation; Relations With Russia**

*LD2705173096 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1634 GMT 27 May 96*

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] [no place or date given] (INTERFAX) The presidents of the three Baltic states — Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia — are to hold two days of summit talks opening in Vilnius on Tuesday.

Bilateral and tripartite cooperation will dominate the agenda, presidential foreign policy advisor Justas Paleckis told Interfax in Vilnius.

He said the summiteers will also focus on relations with neighboring states, above all Russia, in the light of forthcoming presidential elections there.

Other issues on the agenda cover the prospects of cooperation with European, transatlantic and regional structures, Paleckis said.

Apart from a joint declaration, the three countries are expected to sign bilateral deals on social security issues.

On Wednesday, the three heads of state will meet with defense chiefs of the Baltic states and Northern Europe who are due to go into talks at the Trakai Castle outside Vilnius the day before.

The latest meeting is the third of its kind by the defense ministers of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland, Lithuanian Defense Chief Linas Linkevicius told Interfax.

He described it as an indication of growing cooperation between the Baltic and Scandinavian states aimed at consolidating security and stability of each state and the region as a whole.

The agenda of the defense ministers' meeting covers the creation of a Baltic peacekeeping force, involvement in NATO's peacekeeping missions and other operations, integration into NATO and the development of regional air space monitoring systems.

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**Russia: Primakov Criticizes NATO Plans of Eastward Expansion**

*LD2605050996 Moscow Radiostantsiya Ekho Moskvy in Russian 0100 GMT 26 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Foreign Minister Yevgeniy Primakov criticized NATO plans of eastward expansion. Speaking in Venezuela on 25 May, Primakov said that the policy of Brussels would lead to loss of sovereignty and independence of the countries of Eastern Europe.

**Russia: Primakov: Russia, Venezuela, Cuba To Resume Cooperation**

*LD2505070096 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0644 GMT 25 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] CARACAS, May 24 (Interfax) — Russia will meet its foreign policy commitments "regardless of who wins the presidential polls," Russian Foreign Minister Yevgeniy Primakov declared at yesterday's news conference in Caracas.

"All the treaties and agreements that have been signed on Russia's behalf so far will be valid," Primakov pledged, voicing hope that President Boris Yeltsin will be re-elected for a second term at the June 16 presidential ballot.

At yesterday's ceremony in Caracas, Primakov signed a Russian-Venezuelan Friendship and Cooperation Treaty and an accord on cultural and scientific contacts between the two countries.

Replying journalists, he did not rule out the possibility of resuming three-sided cooperation between Russia, Cuba, and Venezuela in oil shipments.

At one time, Venezuela, supplied oil to Cuba to fulfil Soviet commitments, while the USSR delivered matching amounts of oil to Western Europe to meet Venezuelan obligations. This saved Moscow and Caracas quite a penny on oil transportation.

According to Primakov, experts are completing their work on a deal between Russia, Cuba, and Venezuela in time for early full-scale talks on the issue. "One thing is clear: the deal will benefit all sides," Primakov stressed.

**Russia: Primakov Ends Latin America Trip, Comments on Results**

*LD2505202896 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1925 GMT 25 May 96*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] Russia has and will have long-term strategic interests in Latin America. This was stated by Russian Foreign Minister Yevgeniy Primakov in the Venezuelan capital, ending his visit to three countries of the region.

[Correspondent A. Serikov] They were Mexico, Cuba, and Venezuela, countries which are different from one another but, nevertheless, interested in close ties with Russia.

[Begin Primakov recording] In all three countries I handed to the leaders — the presidents — of these countries a message from President Yeltsin. In all the countries I had intensive political talks and in all the countries I signed very important documents. [end recording]

There was a lot of interest in the document on the principles of mutual relations between Russia and Cuba. Cuba's leader Fidel Castro, in an exclusive interview for the "Vesti" program said that he was very satisfied with the results of the meeting with the Russian foreign minister, that relations between our countries would improve, and that he, being an optimist, is confident in their success.

In Mexico, Venezuela, and Cuba talks were held mainly on political subjects. The further embodiment of these talks will be contacts in the economic sphere. Primakov's arrival in this region is testimony to the fact that it is emerging from the period of oblivion regarding our economic and political interests.

**Russia: Primakov in Rome for Talks With Prodi, EU Ministers**

*LD2805104196 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0906 GMT 28 May 96*

[By Aleksey Bukalov, Aleksandr Kondrashov, and Sergey Startsev]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] ROME May 28 (Itar-Tass) — Russian Foreign Minister Yevgeniy Primakov arrived in Italy on Tuesday [28 May] for a two-day visit. While in Rome, he is to have meetings with President Luigi Scalfaro, new Prime Minister Romano Prodi, and Foreign Minister Lamberto Dini.

Primakov's talks with the Foreign Ministers of the European Union "trio" — Spain, Italy, and Ireland — as well as with Hans van den Broek, member of the Commission of the European Communities, will be an important component of the programme of his stay in Rome.

The Russian minister is scheduled to meeting with Carl Bildt, the U.N. Supreme Representative in charge of coordinating the civilian aspects of the Bosnia peace agreement, later in the day.

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Primakov's visit here will begin with a call on the Vatican. For the first time in the past five years, a Russian Foreign minister will pay a call on Palazzo Apostolico, where he will be received in audience by Pope John Paul II

**Russia: Zyuganov Sees NATO, Russia as Guarantors of Security**

*AU2705190196 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 27 May 96 p 9*

[Interview with Gennadiy Zyuganov, leader of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, by Elena Yoncheva; place and date not given: "Yeltsin's Political Term Is Limited, He Failed"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Yoncheva] Do you think that on 16 June the Russians will choose between communism and anticommunism?

[Zyuganov] No. They will chose between Russia the Motherland and those who are destroying the country, betraying their friends and allies, and continuing the moral and physical genocide of our motherland. [passage omitted]

[Yoncheva] Why, today, when one speaks about the elections, does one immediately mention a civil war?

[Zyuganov] Actually, the war has started already. Chechnya was armed by our rulers. They gave them mountains of weapons.... however, we can stop this war. [passage omitted]

[Yoncheva] Russia's position on NATO's eastward expansion is well-known. If you become the Russian president, what will your policy on this issue be?

[Zyuganov] If we look at the geopolitical revolution, we will see that its essence consists of the following: There used to be a bipolar system, based on a sharp confrontation. That was a bad, but totally predictable system. All you had to do was to pick up the telephone and negotiate, for example about not fighting in the Caribbean. Now, the United States — the unquestionable leader — and a united Europe have emerged. The EU has already been established. They destroyed the USSR, but established a European Union. Naturally, the united Germany has a place in the EU, but Russia, of course, does not. Then, there are China, Japan, India, and somewhere far away, Brazil. This is an equation that contains 10 unknown factors. It will be very difficult to solve it. A balance of interests means primarily a balance of forces. I mean in everything — science, culture, education, and military and economic force. Only the most talented politicians and mathematicians can solve this equation. [passage omitted]

[Yoncheva] The eastern European countries view NATO as a factor that could guarantee their security. Today, Russia cannot cope even with the war in Chechnya, while some of your politicians are already seeing the Russian soldiers bathing in the Indian Ocean. All this scares the people....

[Zyuganov] Today, many things are intimidating. As far as jumps to the south, east, or west are concerned — we are categorically against them. This is an irresponsible policy. Chechnya is a common pain. The problem was created artificially while others were robbing the state property. Three hotbeds were created — Bosnia, Chechnya, and Tajikistan. Those are places were the Eastern Orthodox Church touches upon the Muslims. The clash between the two religions is the dream of those who hate Russia.

[Yoncheva] Where do you think the eastern European countries will seek guarantees of their security?

[Zyuganov] They should not seek them. They must simply reach an agreement. Both NATO and the Russian Federation should guarantee the security of the eastern European countries. Sign a treaty and then enjoy your brilliant strategic situation. Expand your relations with both East and West as much as possible. You are trying to expand you relations with the West, but the markets there are already overcrowded. Russia has a great and inexhaustible market. Furthermore, we have our traditional relations. They must be restored, and everyone should benefit from this. By signing a treaty with both NATO and Russia, you will have a total guarantee of your security. [passage omitted]

**Russia: Government To Develop Relations With Cuba Despite U.S. Law**

*LD2605120396 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1135 GMT 26 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, May 26 (Interfax) — Russia will develop relations with Cuba disregarding the U.S. Helms-Burton law, a high-ranking Russian diplomat close to Foreign Minister Yevgeniy Primakov told Interfax Sunday. Primakov Sunday returned from his Latin American tour during which he visited Mexico, Cuba and Venezuela.

The Helms-Burton law is counterproductive, said the diplomat, as it links the United States' trade and economic relations with third countries with whether or not they trade with Cuba. The law which, in experts estimate, had a little chance of being adopted quickly, was nevertheless approved following an incident when the Cuban Air Force shot own two light planes of a Cuban emigrant organization based in Miami.

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Earlier, Primakov had condemned this law, saying that "it applied the domestic legal norms to international law." "Russia and Cuba will decide on their own how to build their trade and economic relations, guided by their national interests," he said.

The diplomat emphasized that Russia and Cuba are mutually interested in broadening mutually advantageous cooperation devoid of any ideological content. "Importantly, Cuban leader Fidel Castro had two meetings with Primakov in Havana, at first at the Russian Embassy where he arrived to greet the Russian foreign minister, and subsequently in his own residence," said the diplomat.

He said that Primakov had passed to Castro Russian President Boris Yeltsin's personal message. Primakov told a press conference in Havana in answer to an Interfax question that Russian-Cuban relations are on the eve of an upsurge. "Fidel Castro arrived in the airport to see off the Russian foreign minister. For the Cuban protocol this is an unprecedented and, I think, symbolic occurrence," said the source.

**Russia: U.S. Diplomat Denies Evacuation Plans if Zyuganov Wins**

*MM2705094196 Moscow TRUD in Russian 25 May 96 p 1*

[ITAR-TASS report: "Alert Condition 1 Not Declared"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In an interview with an ITAR-TASS observer yesterday Thomas Graham, first secretary at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, called the report published in NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA under the heading "Americans Prepare for the Worst" "the product of a malicious intent." The report says that on instructions from the U.S. State Department the American Embassy in Moscow "has warned all U.S. citizens now resident in Moscow of the need to be ready for the most undesirable consequences of the presidential elections" and for "immediate evacuation."

"Our embassy has not received such instructions from the State Department," Thomas Graham said.

**Russia: Salmonella Found in U.S. Forcemeat Imports**

*MM2805092896 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 23 May 96 p 5*

[INTERFAX report: "Defective Merchandise Stopped"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Vladivostok Public Health and Epidemiological Supervision Service has suspended contracts for the import of chicken and turkey forcemeat from the United States and has banned its sale. According to INTERFAX, this measure was prompted by the discovery of the salmonella pathogen during the examination of some sealed packages containing these products. Veterinarians were also concerned by the fact that several cases of food poisoning caused by foreign chicken forcemeat have been registered this year.

**Russia: Moscow Radio Views U.S. Congressman's Visit to North Korea**

*SK2805050496 Moscow Voice of Russia World Service in Korean 1200 GMT 27 May 96*

[From the "Today's World" program]

[FBIS Translated Text] A U.S. delegation led by U.S. Senator [as heard] Bill Rechardson arrived in Pyongyang. The delegations of the United States and the DPRK will discuss the situation on the Korean peninsula. Station commentator (Leorid Krichevskiy) writes: More clearly speaking, it can be said that Washington is taking a diplomatic measure to persuade Pyongyang to accept the four-way talks to discuss the question of the peninsula. Last month, the ROK and Washington proposed that the four-way talks be held to discuss the question of the peninsula with the participation of the DPRK, the ROK, the United States, and China.

The mission of Senator Bill Richardson, who arrived in Pyongyang, is to persuade the DPRK to accept the proposal. However, Pyongyang does not welcome the proposal. Pyongyang has long proposed to resolve the question of the peninsula through direct talks with the United States without the ROK's participation.

The issue of resolving the question of the peninsula is very complicated. This is a well-known fact. This issue should be resolved through various ways. However, it is true that this issue should be resolved at the earliest possible date. In addition to this, the issue of who will participate in the talks should also be resolved as soon as possible. The four countries are not the only ones that have an interest in the resolution of this issue; the number of the countries concerned is more. First of all, Russia is also ready to participate in the process of resolving the question on the Korean peninsula.

Russia is fully qualified to participate in the discussions on the question of the peninsula. The United States also recognizes that Russia is fully qualified to participate in arbitrating relations between North and South Korea.

Winston Lord, U.S. assistant secretary of state for Northeast Asia and Pacific affairs, said that Russia can play a constructive role in the arbitrating process. However, this is nothing but a lip service.

The United States has continuously adhered to the four-way talks. The visit of the U.S. delegation to Pyongyang was aimed at making the four-way talks successful.

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Now, what is the detailed proposal that Russia has put forward? Russia has insisted that the issue concerning the Korean peninsula be discussed at an international conference in which all countries concerned participate. In other words, Moscow foresees a comprehensive resolution to the question of the Korean peninsula. This is why Russia believes that Russia, Japan, the United Nations, and the International Atomic Energy Agency should also participate in the conference.

Moscow has put forward the convocation of an international conference on many occasions. Russia stressed this again even when the ROK foreign minister visited Moscow.

Beijing has shown a position virtually similar to that of Russia. An official spokesman of Beijing stated that agreement on the proposed international conference by all countries concerned is necessary. All countries concerned should pay due attention to the opinions of Russia and China.

**Russia: Seleznev To Discuss International Issues on DPRK Visit**

*LD2405135996 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1339 GMT 24 May 96*

[By Andrey Kirillov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, May 24 (Itar-Tass) — Russian State Duma Chairman Gennadiy Seleznev will begin his visit to North Korea on Sunday [26 May].

The Russian Foreign Ministry believes that he will hold discussions not only on bilateral, but also on foreign policy issues, including a settlement of the Korean problem.

"The recent incidents in this region, including violation of the demilitarised zone and the escape to the south of a North Korean pilot on his MiG-19 aircraft, confirms that relations between the two Korean states are far from improvement," a high-ranking official of the Russian Foreign Affairs department told Itar-Tass.

"Russia is now in favour of maintaining more balanced relations with both parts of the Korean peninsula," the diplomat emphasised and added that during the present series of visits to North Korea "Russia will to some extent rectify its lack of attention towards the northern part of the peninsula in the past."

"The improvement of the atmosphere in Russian-North Korean relations is tangible even today, relations are becoming equable," the Foreign Ministry representative noted.

During his stay in Pyongang, Seleznev is expected to meet with Chairman of the Permanent Committee of the People's Assembly of North Korea Yang Hyong-sop.

Seleznev had visited Pyongang in his capacity as the vice-chairman of the State Duma in the autumn of 1995.

**Russia: Parliamentary Delegation Arrives in North Korea**

*LD2605171496 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1547 GMT 26 May 96*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Zakharchenko]

[FBIS Translated Text] Pyongyang, 26 May — A Russian parliamentary delegation headed by Gennadiy Seleznev, chairman of the State Duma of the Russian Federation, arrived this evening at the North Korean capital at the invitation of the DPRK Supreme People's Assembly. At Pyongyang's international Sunam Airport, the guests were met at the plane by Yang Huong-sop, chairman of the North Korean single-chamber parliament.

During the stay in Pyongyang, Seleznev will hold talks with Yang Huong-sop, acting candidate member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Korean Labor Party and chairman of the permanent council of the Supreme People's Assembly. Meetings are planned with Minister of Foreign Affairs Kim Yong-nam and other high-ranking government and party leaders.

During the stay, Seleznev will visit one of the Pyongyang light industry enterprises and meet Hong Song-nam, vice premier of the Administrative Council and chairman of the Korean part of the intergovernmental commission for trade, economic, scientific, and technological cooperation between Russia and DPRK.

On conclusion of the trip to Pyongyang on 29 May, the delegation will go to Ulaanbaatar.

**Russia: Duma Urges Yeltsin To Promote Iraqi Settlement**

*LD2405161596 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1547 GMT 24 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, May 24 (Interfax) — The Russian State Duma recommended Russian President Boris Yeltsin promote the U.N.-Iraqi talks and the general settlement of the situation around Iraq Friday.

As many as 295 deputies voted in favor of this motion, with two votes against and four abstentions.

Simultaneously, the Duma adopted a statement saying "the overwhelming majority of the Iraqi population is on the brink of survival because of the chronic lack

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of food and medication" and blaming the international sanctions imposed by a U.N. Security Council decision.

"If the complete settlement of the situation around Iraq requires time and remains a strategic task, then the world community should take immediate measures to rescue the Iraqi people, as envisioned by international law," the statement reads.

The motion was introduced by deputies Nikolay Ryzhkov and Aleksandr Dzasokhov of the Popular Rule deputies' group, Lev Rokhlin of Our Home Is Russia (NDR), Vitaliy Sevastyanov of the Communist Party of Russia (KPRF), Ivan Grachev of Yabloko, Vladimir Gusev of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR), Nikolay Kharitonov of the Agrarian Party of Russia (APR) and Vladimir Medvedev of the Regions of Russia deputies' group.

**Russia: Ministry Satisfied With UN Statement on Eastern Slavonia**

*LD2305201896 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1651 GMT 23 May 96*

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, May 23 (Interfax)—Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman Grigoriy Karasin expressed satisfaction over the statement made by the U.N. Security Council chairman in support of the demilitarization process that had started in Eastern Slavonia, Croatia.

The document, initiated by Russia, emphasizes the urgency of economic rebuilding of East Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem, he said.

The statement also calls on the sides in the conflict to refrain from any unilateral activities which could jeopardize the peace agreement or the demilitarization process, Karasin explained.

The Security Council also called on the former warring parties to observe the highest possible human rights and liberties standards, he continued.

To make this possible, Zagreb and Knin must continue cooperation with the provisional U.N. administration in Eastern Slavonia and take confidence building steps, Karasin said.

The Security Council called on the Croatian government to extend the amnesty to all Serbs residing in the area except those guilty of military crimes, he said.

**Russia: Chernomyrdin in Kiev To Aid Yeltsin Trip, Save Marchuk**

*MK2405111996 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 May 96 p 1*

[Report by Viktor Timoshenko under the general headline: "Viktor Chernomyrdin Is Trying To Straighten Out Problems Preventing Boris Yeltsin From Going to Kiev. Another Objective of the Russian Prime Minister's Visit Is an Attempt To Save His Ukrainian Counterpart From Possible Dismissal"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A brief working visit by Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin to Kiev on 23 May came as a pleasant surprise for the Ukrainian leadership. This was confirmed by the fact that the Ukrainian president urgently canceled his planned visit to Mykolayiv Oblast and Prime Minister Yevhen Marchuk hastily returned to the Ukrainian capital from Rovno.

A day before the Russian premier's visit, Leonid Kuchma told journalists in an interview that Viktor Chernomyrdin would "arrive on the eve of Boris Yeltsin's possible visit to Kiev to discuss the most important problems of Russian-Ukrainian relations." In Ukraine they took good notice of the stern words that Yeltsin said at the Moscow summit on 17 May: The president of Russia is "not going to go to Kiev on a sight-seeing tour."

The discussion of this problem became the main subject of talks during Viktor Chernomyrdin's meetings with Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma and Prime Minister Yevhen Marchuk. But, as the Ukrainian prime minister put it, while "all objections to a general political Russian-Ukrainian treaty have in principle been withdrawn by the Russian side, the parameters and conditions of basing the Black Sea Fleet and the terms of lease" still remain a stumbling block that President Boris Yeltsin still cannot overcome on his long road to Kiev.

A number of questions in relations between Moscow and Kiev did not cause any particular controversy and were resolved. One of these was the question of Russia's compensation for the tactical weapons withdrawn from Ukrainian territory. The preliminary sum equals $450 million. There are 28 nuclear warheads for strategic missiles left on Ukrainian territory, that have yet to be withdrawn. The Ukrainian side attributes the delay in the shipment to untimely deliveries of fissile material for Ukrainian nuclear power plants by the Russian Atomic Energy Ministry. During his talks with Yevhen Marchuk the Russian prime minister also touched on the question of payment for the transit of Russian gas across Ukrainian territory.

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The Russian initiatives and Viktor Chernomyrdin's visit to Kiev are due to Boris Yeltsin's interest in signing a treaty with Ukraine. The Black Sea Fleet problems, that have not been resolved by the presidential team, are being criticized by Boris Yeltsin's opponents in the presidential campaign. Retaining Sevastopol and the Black Sea Fleet under the Russian flag means to win over hundreds of thousands of votes in favor of the incumbent president.

There has been much talk in Kiev recently about differences between the president and the prime minister of Ukraine, that have nearly gone as far as Marchuk's possible dismissal. Many observers think that Viktor Chernomyrdin's arrival in Kiev can largely be attributed to the Russian leaders' desire to keep Yevhen Marchuk at his post as an advocate of economic integration with Moscow.

**Russia: Paper Apologizes to Firm for 'Arms Dealing' Allegations**

*MM2405112796 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 May 96 p 3*

[Unattributed report: "Follow-Up: 'The Estonian Connection in Ulster and Chechnya....'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] An article headlined "The Estonian Connection in Ulster and Chechnya: The FSB Presents Evidence" published in our newspaper (14 May 1996) drew a broad response from readers. Let us recall that it formed part of a whole series of exposes which this department has recently conveyed to the mass media. We cited a source when publishing this information and, since we were unable to verify the said information because of its secrecy, at the end of the article we expressed the hope that if our special services take this step "they have at their disposal irrefutable evidence and not just words, which even counterintelligence agents have been generous with of late."

After the article the editorial office was contacted by representatives of the Nordex firm, against which extremely serious charges had been leveled, in particular of illegal arms dealings and links with the Chechen mafia. They flatly deny everything that the counterintelligence officers said about Nordex.

If KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA has misled anyone — and that is how it seems — we apologize to the injured party. We have to acknowledge our unwitting involvement in disseminating unconfirmed information that could be injurious to the reputation of the company and people associated with it.

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## Political Issues

### Russia: Chernomyrdin Discusses Yandarbiyev, Elections, Premier's Post

*LD2605202896 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 26 May 96*

["Exclusive" interview with Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin by correspondent Nikolay Svanidze on 25 May; place not given; from the "Zerkalo" program — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Svanidze] Viktor Stepanovich, what is the current situation with regard to talks with the Chechens and the forthcoming visit by Yandarbiyev? As I understand it, he is expected to arrive on 27 May.

[Chernomyrdin] The government and the chairman of the government, and Boris Nikolayevich, too, have agreed to this meeting with Mr. Yandarbiyev. Everything we are doing today around it is aimed at preparing the meeting. I can go further and say that I am pinning hopes on that meeting. I hope that it will adopt some decisions as a result of the talks. But let us not be hasty. The most important thing is the results.

[Svanidze] Do you think Yandarbiyev is in a constructive mood? Was he quick to agree to the meeting?

[Chernomyrdin] I would not like to..[pauses] It is difficult for me to say because I do not know him. I have never met him. Therefore, it is difficult for me to say. However, it does not matter whether we met or not. The point is that the situation requires this. People are tired, everyone is tired, and first and foremost, people in the Chechen republic. We hope that everyone understands — everyone should understand — that this is far from a simple issue not only for us, but also for those who carry arms. One should consider what to do with many of them. This issue will require certain decisions, difficult and serious decisions. I am very glad that the State Duma adopted a decision on amnesty. The entire objective situation has made us realize that talks are necessary today, that results can be achieve today only through talks. [break in interview for other news items]

[Chernomyrdin] As an individual, I would like the elections to take place as soon as possible. I would like us to complete this so that everyone can concentrate on his work. I would like this very much. It seems that not many days are left to the elections, but for me it is quite a long time. One should have enough health to withstand all this.

[Svanidze] Viktor Stepanovich, can I ask you a personal question? A number of politicians have recently expressed interest in your post, the post of prime minister. Are you concerned or flattered by this?

[Chernomyrdin] Well, you know, I am quite pleased that my post is in such great demand now. Nobody thought much of it two or three years ago. No one was after it. I am not just talking about my post, but any other post in the government. On the contrary, they refused to take posts on offer. I regret very much the fact that some people turned down our offer of working in the government.

[Svanidze] Have you and the president discussed questions linked to various options in setting up a coalition government or to laying claims to your post?

[Chernomyrdin] I know about these claims. He told me that he had spoken to one person and he put forward one condition — to be prime minister. Another person told him that he wanted to replace the government. Of course, I know this, of course, I do. The question is who stands behind all this, who is actually trying to do this. These days much is being said on our television and in the media about people, about attempts to do what is best for them, about promises to this and that for them, for example. I have never liked this. Who prevents any of them from doing it right now? I said this many times. I have never ignored anyone, never discarded any proposals. If you really want to do good, why are you waiting until you take a post before you begin to do what you want to do. Come and talk to me. One thing does not rule out the other. Be either president or prime minister but let us do things right now. The problem is that much is said, many promises are made but not carried out. There must be an end to empty promises. My doors are open to everyone. I will meet anyone and hear anyone out. But these are completely different proposals.

### Russia: Congress of Russian Communities Dismisses Skokov

*LD2605110496 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 26 May 96*

[Video report by correspondent G. Ovsyannikov; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] An attempt to save the Congress of Russian Communities [KRO] as a preelection association was made at an extraordinary congress of that organization today. The delegates almost unanimously voted for the removal from office of the KRO's leader Yuriy Skokov.

[Begin recording of B. Suprunyuk, delegate from the Omsk KRO organization] The extraordinary congress, which has been conveyed at the request of most of the KRO's regional organizations, verifies there is a crisis in the movement that has arisen as a result

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of numerous errors by the National Council, headed by Yuriy Skokov. The congress deems unsatisfactory the work of the National Council, headed by Yuriy Skokov, and makes it incumbent upon the executive committee and the new leadership of the KRO to adopt all measures to overcome the crisis in the movement, which would otherwise be doomed to political oblivion. [end recording]

The speakers urged all regional organizations to rally round the present leader Russian presidential candidate Aleksandr Lebed.

## Military Issues

**Russia: Yeltsin Message Lists Military Reform Aims**

*MM2705082896 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 May 96 p 1*

["Letter From Russian Federation President and Supreme Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces to the Men of the Russian Federation Armed Forces" — KRASNAYA ZVEZDA headline]

[FBIS Translated Text] Comrade soldiers and sailors, NCO's and petty officers, warrant officers and ensigns, officers, generals, and admirals!

Four years have passed since the signing of the Russian Federation presidential edict on the creation of the Russian Armed Forces.

A great deal has been achieved in this period.

Within a short period of time troops have been redeployed from other states on a unique scale. In less than three years around 1.2 million men and tens of thousands of units of hardware, strategic stockpiles of weapons, and military property were withdrawn to Russia.

New troop groupings have been created in the main strategic areas. Serious work has been done to optimize force composition in branches of service and combat arms. The necessary level of combat readiness is being ensured, and combat training is being improved.

The best traditions of the Russian military — duty, honor, patriotism, and valor — are being revived. The morale and cohesion of military collectives are being maintained.

Contract service has become a reality. A historic step has been taken down the road to a professional Army.

It has been established that drafted servicemen can be sent to carry out missions in military conflict situations and to take part in combat operations exclusively on a voluntary basis.

A number of legislative and normative acts aimed at providing social protection for servicemen and their family members, civilian personnel, and Armed Forces veterans have been adopted. A program of housing construction for servicemen has been launched, under which it is planned to commission more than 120,000 apartments primarily in the central part of Russia.

But the Russian Army still has many problems.

Armed Forces requirements are not yet fully reflected in the budget. There have been cases of funding being held up for a number of items, and there have been holdups with pay. Military hardware and weapons are being renewed only slowly. Social problems are acute.

The Army is going through the same difficulties as all of our society.

But I am profoundly convinced that these difficulties are temporary and will definitely be overcome.

Work is already under way to improve the military budget: Its articles are being reviewed, spending on combat training is being increased, and questions relating to pay and pensions have been brought under strict control.

Decisions have been made to support defense-complex enterprises. Federation component administration heads have been strictly warned about the need to observe the social rights and guarantees for servicemen and their families. All measures will be taken to fully implement the program to provide housing for servicemen.

**We clearly realize that military reform and military organizational development are a task for the entire state.**

The main aim of military reform is to create a professional Army that enjoys popular support, prestige, and respect, an Army equipped with everything it needs, well-trained, and ready to do its duty.

With regard to Armed Forces organizational development we can clearly highlight some promising avenues:

1. People — Armed Forces servicemen and civilian personnel, their problems, concerns, and aspirations — are at the center of military reform.

A clear, straightforward, and fair system of service that gives priority to those shouldering the full burden of military service will be created in Russia.

The measures to provide social support for servicemen, civilian personnel, Armed Forces veterans, and officers, warrant officers, and ensigns discharged to the reserve will be fully implemented.

2. The role of the General Staff as the organ of direct operational leadership of the Armed Forces should

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increase within the framework of the reform of the system of military command and control.

3. We will have to reduce Armed Forces manpower, primarily by cutting superfluous, undermanned, or reduced-strength units and units which have already undergone manpower cuts, but without affecting the overall level of the country's defense capability. The main manpower-reduction measures will be primarily implemented by cutting positions currently filled by drafted soldiers and NCO's.

4. The defensive alliance within the CIS will be further developed through the introduction of joint planning for the utilization of troops, primarily by using them to prevent and eliminate local conflicts in areas threatening Russia's security.

5. Main attention will be paid to the principles of troop deployment. Units and combined units will be sited in the areas where there is the highest security threat, and in regions which are best adapted to the organization of housing, everyday life, and combat training for the troops.

6. Within the framework of overall defense spending the share of resources allocated for the modernization of arms and military hardware will be increased.

7. The restructuring of the country's defense industry with a view to **rearming the Army and Navy** by preserving and developing Russia's scientific and defense-industry potential is part and parcel of military reform.

8. The system of military education needs substantial reform. We need to improve the level of general educational training and the level of cultural and legal education at military higher educational establishments.

Today and in the future our country's defense might must be determined primarily not by troop numbers but by their level of command and control, equipment, and training, and it must be reinforced by high morale.

Russia has been, is, and will continue to be a great world power.

Russia will retain reliable, strong, and combat-capable Armed Forces.

Our Russian Army and Navy have been and will continue to be protected by the Constitution, the laws, and the president.

[signed] Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin

[dated] 23 May 1996

**Russia: Yeltsin Signs Decree on Releasing Conscripts**

*LD2805120796 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1131 GMT 28 May 96*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Shtorkh]

[FBIS Translated Text] Groznyy, 28 May (ITAR-TASS) — A decree which says that compulsory service soldiers with 18 months service in the army, including six months in danger areas will in the nearest future be able to return home was signed today. Russian President Boris Yeltsin said this today, addressing servicemen of the 205th Independent Motorized Rifle Brigade deployed in the area of Severnyy Airport.

Boris Yeltsin demanded from Defense Minister Pavel Grachev and General Anatoliy Kvashnin, commander of the North Caucasus military district, who were present at the meeting, that implementation of this decree should not drag on for weeks and that the servicemen affected by the decree should be allowed home in a few days.

**Russia: Top Officials To Handle Defense Industry Problems**

*LD2705161896 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1333 GMT 27 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, May 27 (Interfax) — Russian President Boris Yeltsin, Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin and First Deputy Prime Minister Oleg Soskovets are expected to take part in the nationwide conference between the directors of Russian defense industry companies in Moscow planned for May 29.

Those at the conference will focus on the repayment of the Defense and Interior ministries' debts for military hardware supplies and the development of arms exports, Russian Defense Industry Minister Zinoviy Pak told reporters.

Those at the conference will also consider state support for the defense conversion program, Pak said. "The conference is expected to give a real impetus to the overcoming of the crisis concerning the military-industrial complex," he believes.

**Russia: Russian Troops To Make First Appearance at NATO Exercises**

*MK2805121596 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 28 May 96 p 2*

[Report by Pavel Felgengauer under the "Partners" rubric: "Russian Army To Participate in NATO Ma-

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neuvers for the First Time. A Peacekeeping Platoon To Be Sent to Ukraine in June"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Russia joined NATO's "Partnership for Peace" (PPP) program back in 1994, but despite persistent invitations by Western partners, it has never until this day sent its servicemen to participate in peacekeeping maneuvers conducted as part of the PPP. Only the Russian Navy has participated, when several ships joined in naval peacekeeping exercises. The Russian Defense Ministry has, for the most part, cited the absence of funds and logistical resources to spare for peacekeeping "whims" at a time when the armed forces face fully real, complex objectives in the "hot spots" of the Caucasus and Central Asia.

However, the actual reason for the Defense Ministry's and the General Staff's cool attitude to the measures conducted under the PPP is more serious. Those in Moscow fear that Russia's active cooperation with NATO could be interpreted in the West essentially as a grudging recognition of the inevitability of the alliance's eastward expansion. For this reason they have preferred the tactics of purely token participation in the PPP at the lowest level — the military has refused to participate in both joint seminars and exercises one time after another. Of course, joint Russian-American peacekeeping exercises were held at the Totsk test range and in Kansas in 1994-1995, but this event was pointedly bilateral, not part of the PPP.

Yet, in 1996 Russia sent its brigade to Bosnia to be subordinated to the NATO commander in chief in Europe. Moreover, the Western partners, as promised, have put on hold the process of NATO expansion for the period of the Russian elections. The boycott of the PPP started looking somewhat conspicuous; then Moscow decided to show gratitude to its new friends by finally agreeing to take part in a joint peacekeeping exercise. However, in this particular case cooperation with NATO is veiled somewhat by the fact that the exercises are to be conducted "in accordance with the plan for bilateral military cooperation between Russia and Ukraine."

The "Peace Shield-96" peacekeeping exercises are scheduled to take place at the Yavorskiy test range near Lviv from 1 to 11 June. Russia is due to send 16 officers and 28 enlisted men there, including a 29-strong platoon and three armored personnel carriers of the 45th Motorized Rifle Division from the Leningrad Military District. In addition, the United States, Moldova, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland, Rumania, Hungary, and Bulgaria will send a platoon each for "Peace Shield-96," while Ukraine will field three platoons. For the period of the exercises a joint multinational battalion will be formed in which a Russian officer will be appointed to command a company made up of Russian, Czech, and Bulgarian servicemen. All the expenditures of the East European partners and also the cost of renovating and re-equipping the test range will be paid by U.S. taxpayers. The defense ministers of all the countries involved are invited to attend the ceremony of inaugurating the exercises on 3 June. But, according to informed sources in Moscow, General Grachev is unlikely to attend "in connection with the general fickleness of the situation." Yet, on the whole, the Russian military is not inclined to give very extensive publicity to this new stage of its partnership with NATO.

**Russia: Grachev Denies Rumors of Dismissal**

*LD2505103596 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0400 GMT 25 May 96*

[From the "Vesti" program]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Video shows Grachev arriving in Chita, addressing officers, inspecting the equipment] The visit of Defense Minister Pavel Grachev to Chita in the Transbaykal military district coincided with yet another allegation of his forthcoming resignation. Addressing officers of the training center of the Chita garrison, the defense minister had this to say about this new rumor:

[Begin Grachev recording] The day before yesterday I learned from all those wretched journalists for the nineteenth time that I was to be dismissed from my post. My aides are counting: Blows do hurt but we will stand. [end recording] [passage omitted]

**Russia: Speculation on Grachev Dismissal Condemned; Rumors Continue**

*LD2505172596 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1703 GMT 25 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, May 25 (Interfax) — Russia's border guard chief on Saturday condemned speculation in the media over rumors that Defense Minister General of the Army Pavel Grachev would soon be dismissed.

Such speculation is "tactless," General of the Army Andrey Nikolayev, director of the Federal Border Guard Service, said, answering a question by Interfax.

"The situation has come to a distasteful point," he said. "We are haggling as though we were in the market. That must not be done."

"Today's minister is a human being, and we must be tactful about the situation, at least out of our own self-respect."

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Nikolayev continued. "We mustn't force the president to make a decision. He will do it when he needs to. Then he will appoint the right person to the right position."

However, a well-informed military source said Yeltsin would make changes in the military hierarchy before the June 16 presidential election.

The source said the president was considering several candidacies for the posts of defense minister and chief of the General Staff. Today's chief of the General Staff, General of the Army Mikhail Kolesnikov, might be replaced by Colonel General Boris Gromov and become defense minister, the source said.

But sources close to Yeltsin said the defense portfolio would most likely go to Gromov. The same sources told Interfax that during a recent conversation with Yeltsin, Gromov made proposals on how to solve the pressing problems of the armed forces.

Both the above military source and the presidential sources pointed out that Yeltsin had repeatedly said the post of defense minister might be given to a civilian. Then armed forces development would be entrusted to the chief of the General Staff and the new first deputy defense minister. In that case Andrey Kokoshin would become defense minister, Gromov would be his first deputy and Kolesnikov would remain chief of the General Staff, the sources said.

**Russia: Grachev 'Satisfied' With Trip to Military Units**

*MM2805104296 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 May 96 p 1*

[Report by Aleksandr Pelts, Aleksandr Davidyuk, and Aleksandr Veklich: "Russia Can Be Proud of Such Soldiers. On the Results of Russian Federation Defense Minister Army General Pavel Grachev's Visit to the Troops of the Ural, Transbaykal, and Siberian Military Districts"]

[FBIS Translated Text] First of all, here is the overall assessment voiced by the defense minister before his return to Moscow. "I am pleased with the results of my trip to the Ural, Transbaykal, and Siberian Military Districts. The troops are ready for the summer training period. The results of surprise inspections of the most remote garrisons convince me of that. The personnel are in a good, combat mood. The only thing that is required among the troops is fuel for the equipment and proper, stable funding. The other problems will resolve themselves. Of course, we will pay the most serious attention to the requests that were made. Another important point is that the districts, and I saw this for myself, correctly understand and define the democratic path for the further development of our state. I am entirely satisfied with the trip and am returning in a good mood to report the results to the supreme commander in chief."

We could leave it at that, so to speak. But any trip by the Russian Federation defense minister to the troops, especially to districts like the Ural, Transbaykal, and Siberian districts, contains many important points that simply do not make it into the day-to-day reports from local level or the overall official assessment. We would like to dwell on these above all.

Right, point one. During his meetings with the districts' personnel and command the defense minister stressed that the projected plan for the organizational development of the Russian Armed Forces in 1993-1995 was completed. Of course, within the framework and in the volumes for which finances and material and technical resources were provided. The further program of organizational development is provided in the letter of Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation and supreme commander in chief of the Armed Forces. At local level the defense minister set specific tasks in explaining and studying this document, which defines strategic guidelines for the development and reform of the Armed Forces. He emphasized that the Russian president's letter, besides setting long-term tasks, makes a high assessment of the Armed Forces' martial labor in the four years of their existence. "So far as we are concerned, this is the highest assessment," the defense minister said.

The second important point is connected with the peaceful settlement of the crisis in Chechnya. The defense minister disclosed that the troop withdrawal process will begin as of 1 June, and will be completed in August of this year. Only troops of the North Caucasus Military District and certain special subunits will remain in Chechnya. As the peace process develops they too will depart the Chechen Republic. The minister made a high assessment of the actions of the units of the districts which have fulfilled combat tasks, especially the Siberian Military District spetsnaz brigade. "People such as you," he stressed, "augment the glory of Russian arms and represent Russia's military valor."

Another point. During his trip among the troops and units of the three districts the defense minister constantly stressed that work in remote garrisons must be the main principle in the activity of commanders and chiefs at all levels. Such units and subunits experience serious problems. Their commanders, despite tremendous difficulties with funding, have done and are doing a very great deal themselves, as, for instance, in that same Siberian Military District spetsnaz brigade. But

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they need support. "Then we will all be able to cope much better and more swiftly with the existing problems," Army General Pavel Grachev stressed.

Incidentally, many of the questions that the defense minister was able to clarify for himself and in some cases resolve on the spot were connected with work in remote garrisons. For instance, when he was attending command and staff exercises (Ural Military District) he noted the need to deepen the training of commanders in military-political and strategic-operational questions. Appropriate instructions will be issued to the General Staff. Furthermore, when he was in the garrison of Borzya (Transbaykal Military District) the defense minister studied questions of its supply with equipment and material resources and of the manning of units and garrisons with graduates from military academies. Appropriate instructions on improving this system were issued on the spot to the chiefs of Defense Ministry Main Directorates accompanying the defense minister.

During his work in remote garrisons of the Ural Military District, Transbaykal Military District, and Siberian Military District the defense minister naturally also focused attention on questions of their funding. On the whole, he noted, there are many problems with the funding of the Armed Forces. The troops are perfectly well aware of this. Unfortunately, the solution of these problems is not always in every respect within the power of the Defense Ministry. The budget adopted by parliament for 1996 and the expenditure on defense needs show this. But even in these difficult conditions priority must be given to remote units in your districts. The Defense Ministry's approach here is as follows: The allocated funds are channeled primarily to those who are fulfilling real combat tasks, then to remote garrisons and withdrawn units that are experiencing an acute housing shortage. And only then to central regions.

One final point that must be noted. In all the regions the defense minister noted the local administrations' close and active ties with the command of the troops stationed there. These ties, he stressed, have helped and are helping us to resolve tasks at a most difficult time in the formation of the Russian Armed Forces, especially regarding matters of additional food supplies and the construction of housing for servicemen. This is particularly vividly manifested in the Transbaykal Military District and other regions. But unfortunately the picture is rather different in the Siberian Military District. Some local leaders simply ignore the interests of soldiers — their sons and the defenders of Russian soil — and are not fulfilling the laws and presidential edicts. Fortunately, the defense minister noted, such cases are rare exceptions.

During the trip the defense minister also noted the active work of a number of military commissariats in ensuring the draft of young people and recruitment for contract military service. Commissariats in the Ural and Siberian Military Districts have distinguished themselves.

**Russia: Northern Fleet Exercise Involves SLBM Launch**

*MM2405114496 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 May 96 p 1*

[Report by Vladimir Gundarov: "'Kumzha' for Nikolay Ugodnik"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Northern Fleet has begun the annual "Kumzha" demonstration exercises for ships and naval aviation organized within the framework of the training program for Armed Forces General Staff Academy students. On the first day seamen carried out several dozen combat drills, including launching a ballistic missile from a strategic nuclear submarine.

Yevgeniy Komarov, head of the Murmansk Oblast Administration, and Archbishop Simon of Murmansk and Monchegorsk put to sea as observers aboard the nuclear missile cruiser Admiral Nakhimov. This is not the high-ranking clergyman's first "experience of the sea." This trip is noteworthy in that the exercises coincided with Saint Nikolay Ugodnik Day, the patron saint of seamen, celebrated by Christians 22 May.

Seamen put their faith in God, but they do not make mistakes either. They performed virtually all the combat drills on the first day with flying colors.

**Russia: Ministry Leaders Discuss Power, Transport, Communications**

*MM2705115096 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 May 96 p 1*

[Report by Aleksandr Yegorov: "Problems of Power Generation, Transport, and Communications Are Center of Attention"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A telephone conference on matters pertaining to the work of power generation, transport, and communications in European Russia has been held at the Russian Federation Ministry of Communications. Andrey Kokoshin, Russian Federation first deputy defense minister; Zinoviy Pak, Russian Federation minister of the defense industry; Vladimir Bulgak, minister of communications; and other federal ministry leaders took part.

The conference was chaired by Oleg Soskovets, first deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Government.

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## Federal Assembly

### Russia: Duma Ratifies Extradition Treaty With China

*LD2405163796 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1309 GMT 24 May 96*

[By Pavel Kuznetsov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, May 24 (ITAR-TASS) — The Russian-Chinese treaty on the extradition of criminals was ratified by the State Duma today.

In accordance with this document, the crimes, requiring extradition, include actions which, according to the legislations of the two contracting parties, are regarded as crimes and entail prison sentences of not less than one year or even graver punishments in keeping with the Chinese and Russian laws.

The document also stipulates in detail the cases when extradition is ruled out. For instance, in cases when a person has the citizenship of the country which is asked to extradite him or when he is granted asylum there, and also in cases when extradition is not allowed by the legislation of the side to which an extradition request is addressed.

### Russia: Duma Passes Law on Legal Guarantees of Opposition Activity

*MK2805083296 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 25 May 96 p 2*

[Report by Gleb Cherkasov under the "Rules" rubric: "State Duma Passes Law 'On Legal Guarantees of Opposition Activity in the Russian Federation.' Russia Can Catch Up With Cape Verde in This Category of Lawmaking"]

[FBIS Translated Text] By the end of its evening meeting yesterday the State Duma passed in first reading the draft law "On the Legal Guarantees of Opposition Activity in the Russian Federation," which was sponsored by the committee on public associations and religious organizations. According to Committee Chairman Viktor Zorkaltsev, who presented the bill to his counterparts, it has no direct analogs in international legislative practice, except for a similar law that exists in Cape Verde. However, Mr. Zorkaltsev insisted that all civilized countries have something in their legislation similar to this law.

The authors of the bill proceeded from the assumption that there are no specific provisions in Russian legislation to regulate the functions of the opposition and its collaboration with the government authorities. The bill is designed to guarantee opposition activity within the current law and to ensure social stability and continuity in carrying out state government functions in the event of opposition parties' victory in elections.

It should be noted that many articles of the bill essentially restate the law "On Public Associations" and the Constitution. This is what was pointed out by the legal administration in the speech of its representative and by deputy Yuriy Novikov ("Yabloko"), who called on the authors to include a corresponding section in the law "On Political Parties" instead of enacting a new law.

What can be assessed as novelty is the bill's granting opposition groups the right to set up a "shadow" cabinet; furthermore, if at least one-third of the overall number of Duma members vote for its lineup, the "shadow" ministers can be invited to attend meetings of corresponding ministries and agencies with a voice, but no vote. Another novelty is the provision whereby "should an opposition association or opposition figures be criticized" by the president or government in the state-run mass media "this opposition association or figure have the right to make a response in the same mass media."

### Russia: Deputy Speaker Shokhin Laments Conflict With Upper Chamber

*MK2505061696 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 24 May 96 p 3*

[Article by Aleksandr Shokhin, first deputy chairman of the State Duma: "There Is No Time To Think About Lawmaking in the Heat of the Election Campaign"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Duma members have long been debating the question of who is to blame for the inefficiency of the lawmaking process. Yesterday, the deputies ventured to hold an emergency session, that was fully devoted to the analysis of their performance. On the eve of the session KOMMERSANT-DAILY asked Aleksandr Shokhin, first deputy chairman of the State Duma, who is responsible for the organization and planning of lawmaking activity and currently also heads, under a presidential directive, the Joint Commission for Coordination of Legislative Activity, to comment on the situation.

Gennadiy Seleznev has attempted at a news conference to prove with figures in hand that the sixth Duma works even more efficiently than its predecessor. But the thing is that a large number of laws passed by the sixth Duma in third reading is attributable to the fifth Duma's rich heritage. In addition, we have made a special decision under which the legislative process is to be resumed at the stage where it was left off by the fifth Duma. By the way, this decision had its opponents: Viktor Ilyukhin proposed that all the draft laws be considered

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from scratch so that the new deputies could have a chance to familiarize themselves with them. But finally a compromise was found. So I would not compare these figures. Particularly so because we have about 300 bills in the Duma's plan for priority action; yet not all the laws passed by the sixth Duma were included on the list. That is, we have fallen behind our own plan.

What is standing in the way of the Duma's efficient work? First, a plethora of political statements: They consume 60 percent of its time. This stems from spontaneous determination of agendas. Although the Duma Council draws them up twice a week, within the very first hour of a plenary session it gets rehashed: Requests are made, draft resolutions on urgent matters are submitted, or the deputies just start bickering in public.

Second, the very procedure of lawmaking is also imperfect. In particular, the scheme of relations with the upper chamber has not been properly defined. After it was decided that senate members are to take up their seats ex officio, not through election, the Federation Council holds its plenary sessions once a month. The Constitution, meanwhile, calls for a 14-day deadline for bills to be considered by the Senate. So the Duma, if it so wishes, can exclude the upper chamber from the process of lawmaking altogether, for instance, by refusing to pass bills in third reading on the eve of Federation Council meetings. Such incidents have already occurred, including over the bill "On Public Control Over Elections": It was passed in late April and, therefore, was to automatically bypass the Federation Council, which planned to hold its next meeting only three weeks later. When the Senate turned down the draft law, the Duma took offense: How come, the Federation Council fails to meet the deadline, so Sheynis and Seleznev went to the Constitutional Court on behalf of the Duma. Yet, the Constitutional Court interpreted this conflict in a peculiar manner: It ruled that only the Federation Council may pass bills to the president, except for cases where the State Duma overrides its veto. That is, what we get is the following: The Federation Council is entitled to pass a bill to the head of state within 14 days, as provided in the Constitution, even if it has failed to consider the document, while the Duma may not send a bill directly unless this bill has been vetoed. A constitutional deadlock is emerging. So unless we reach agreement of our own free will, we will have to make amendments to the Constitution.

Given that, I think Seleznev's statement blaming it all on "the wrong way of forming" the Federation Council is out of place. Had the senators been elected, not appointed, they would have found time to hold more sessions, he reasons. This is partly correct. Yet this pattern of forming the upper chamber is underpinned by time-tested analogues, for instance, in the FRG. The role of the upper chamber should not be defined proceeding only from what is convenient for the lower chamber. That is, there are problems that stand in the way of our work regardless of whether or not the Duma is considered too politicized. [passage omitted]

## Regional Affairs

### Russia: Yandarbiyev Refuses To Fly on Federal Troops' Helicopter

*LD2705084196 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0828 GMT 27 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] NAZRAN, May 27 (Interfax) — The departure of a Chechen opposition delegation to Moscow has been postponed because delegation and rebel head Zelimkhan Yandarbiyev had refused to fly to the Sleptsovskaya airport on board a helicopter of the federal troops.

The delegation will come to the Ingush airport by car this afternoon, reports an Interfax correspondent.

They will be brought to Moscow by a YAK-42 plane provided by the president of the neighboring Ingush republic. The president, Ruslan Aushev, has left the Ingush capital of Nazran for the Sleptsovskaya airport to meet the delegation.

"Since the very beginning of the Chechen conflict I insisted on a summit meeting with the opposition, because only a meeting with the Russian president can help settle the conflict," Aushev told Interfax.

### Russia: Chechen Government Delegation Arrives in Moscow for Talks

*LD2605074996 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0640 GMT 26 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Moscow, 26 May (Itar-Tass) — Doku Zavgayev, head of the Chechen Republic will lead the delegation of the Chechen Republic at the upcoming talks in Moscow on 27 May. Yunadiy Usamov, deputy prime minister of the Chechen Republic [name and title as received], reported this in a telephone interview with an ITAR-TASS correspondent. He also said that other members of the delegation include Nikolay Koshman, prime minister of the Chechen Republic, who is also in Moscow at present.

To a question who will represent the separatists at the talks, the deputy prime minister said: "We are not involved in that and we have not been consulted about such matters. I personally am not in favor of having meetings with them in Moscow. A meeting is good if it

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helps to improve the situation. Nevertheless, we hope something will be achieved and we can make some progress for the better." [passage omitted]

**Russia: 'Complete List' of Participants in Moscow Talks Given**

*LD2705160696 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1512 GMT 27 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] [no dateline as received] We are transmitting the complete list of participants in the meeting being held in the Kremlin, announced to ITAR-TASS by deputy of the State Duma Vladimir Zorin, who belongs to the group of experts:

On the Russian side: Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation; Viktor Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Government of the Russian Federation; Oleg Lobov, secretary of the Security Council of the Russian Federation; Doku Zavgayev, head of the Chechen Republic; Anatoliy Kulikov, minister of internal affairs of the Russian Federation; and Vyacheslav Mikhaylov, minister of the Russian Federation for Nationalities and Federal Relations. Present are: aides to the president Dmitriy Ryurikov and Yuriy Baturin, the president's press secretary Sergey Medvedev.

On the Chechen side: Zelimkhan Yandarbiyev, Khozh-Akhmed Yarikhanov, Akhmed Zakayev, Abdul Muslimov, and Movladi Udugov [minister of information and press].

**Russia: Yeltsin: Hostilities in Chechnya To End Midnight 31 May**

*LD2705163396 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1603 GMT 27 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, May 27 (Interfax) — Russian President Boris Yeltsin announced at the end of talks in the Kremlin that an agreement has been reached under which the hostilities in Chechnya will end as of midnight on May 31.

Yeltsin said that the two sides had agreed to release all their captives within two weeks. The agreement was signed by Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin and Chechen separatist leader Zelimkhan Yandarbiyev with Yeltsin and OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] officials present. All the participants of the meeting signed the agreement.

Yeltsin told journalists that they witnessed a historic occasion — an end to the war and the restoration of peace in Chechnya. He said that Defense Minister Pavel Grachev and Interior Minister Anatoliy Kulikov will receive an appropriate presidential directive soon.

Following the signing Yeltsin told the Chechen delegation during a short friendly chat: "Let us see how it all will turn out. If this agreement is violated, we will find everyone who has signed it."

Yandarbiyev said that there is a unity of power in Chechnya. He thus made it clear that his order to end hostilities will also be followed.

**Russia: Yeltsin Announces Agreement To End Hostilities in Chechnya**

*LD2705170096 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 27 May 96*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Kremlin meeting started one and a half hour late. Our film crew were waiting for the arrival of the Chechen delegation. A moment ago our correspondent Aleksey Zotov came back from the Kremlin with the report that we will now all watch. [video shows Yeltsin seated, surrounded by Russian and Chechen officials; recording starts in the middle of Yeltsin's sentence]

[Yeltsin] ... from 0000 hours on 1 June 1996. Within two weeks from the signing of the current agreement, the sides will free all the people held by force. The negotiating commissions are continuing their work. The document is being signed by Chernomyrdin and Yandarbiyev in the presence of Russian President Yeltsin and an OSCE representative and is being ratified by all the members of both delegations. [end recording]

After this statement by the president, on the side of the federal authorities, those who put their signatures to the agreement were Viktor Chernomyrdin, Oleg Lobov, Vyacheslav Mikhaylov, Anatoliy Kulikov, and Doku Zavgayev. On the Chechen side the agreement was signed, according to our Aleksey Zotov, by Zelimkhan Yandarbiyev, Khozh-Akhmed Yerikhanov, Mavladi Udugov, and Abdul Muslimov.

**Russia: Agreement on Ending Military Activity in Chechnya Signed**

*LD2705154596 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1526 GMT 27 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] [no dateline as received] In Moscow an agreement has been signed on ending military activities in Chechnya.

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**Russia: 'Culmination' of Yeltsin-Yandarbiyev Conversation Reported**

*LD2705193396 Moscow NTV in Russian 1800 GMT 27 May 96*

[From the "Segodnya" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] We now return to the main story of this Monday — the talks in Moscow involving President Yeltsin. The culmination of the meeting came when the Russian president revealed to the Chechen delegation the text of the agreement that was later signed. In turn, Zelimkhan Yanderbiyev offered a corresponding document. The film that you are about to see has only just reached us from our source in the Kremlin. [video shows Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin passing document across table to Yandarbiyev. Yeltsin is sitting beside Chernomyrdin]

[Begin recording] [Yeltsin, in progress] ...you and I. I know this document. I have read it.

[Yandarbiyev] You have read it, yes?

[Yeltsin] Yes, I have read it. I agree that not all the issues here have been resolved. Not all of them. But today we must resolve the first and chief issue.

[Yandarbiyev] I agree absolutely.

[Yeltsin] If it is resolved then the other issues will be resolved afterward.

[Yandarbiyev] I agree absolutely.

[Yeltsin] So?

[Yandarbiyev] For me it is disarmament.

[Yeltsin] The chief issue has to be resolved — do you agree?

[Yandarbiyev] Yes, to stop military [word indistinct].

[Yeltsin] You agree. If we resolve the main issue, if we end military operations and withdraw our troops from the territory of the Chechen Republic, and if there are no military operations there by either side, then that is it. The other issues will then be resolved. The other issues will be looked at.

[Yandarbiyev] I agree absolutely. [end recording]

**Russia: Day's Events Involving Yandarbiyev Reviewed**

*MM2705191296 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 May 96 pp 1, 2*

[Feature compromising reports by Aleksandr Khokhlov, an unnamed ITAR-TASS correspondent, Yelena Loriya and Vladimir Zaynetdinov, Aleksandr Gamov and an unattributed report: "Field Commanders Have Reached as Far as the Kremlin"]

[FBIS Translated Text]

**[Khokhlov] Yesterday the Chechen Separatists' Delegation Flew in for Talks With the Russian President**

Federal troops have transformed the military situation in Chechnya in their favor. The fall of Goyskoye and especially that of Bamut has again brought the Ichkerian army to the brink of complete collapse. According to information from military sources, the gunmen's commanding officers have lost control over their subunits, their communications system has been disrupted, and they are faced with an appreciable shortage of ammunition.

The position was similar a year ago. The Army was just a month away from "crushing" Dudayev's supporters. Then Budennovsk happened. After that, lengthy negotiations led only to the gunmen reoccupying the majority of the strongholds they had lost during the fighting, licking their wounds, and again buying more ammunition and weapons, up to and including modern tanks and armored personnel carriers.

By now only the truly idle have not had a good laugh at Defense Minister Pavel Grachev's expense following his statement that Zelimkhan Yandarbiyev represents only a bunch of armed men from his clan, and that to hold talks with him is ludicrous. The logic of the election campaign is relentless: If the president has to finish the unpopular war "on the fly," then he will try to finish it. So Grachev has been declared "incorrect." Although he is correct.

However, Russian Nationalities Minister Vyacheslav Mikhaylov has already stated that Yeltsin's talks with Yandarbiyev "will not be considered as talks; there will simply be a conversation."

General Vladimir Shamanov, commander of the Army Group in Chechnya, believes that it would be worth the president's meeting a dozen of the most influential Chechen commanders. But who will listen to a general from the trenches? Shamanov must now prepare to withdraw his troops back to Groznyy.

Up to the elections there will not exactly be war. There will only be the preparation for war of the ragged detachments of Chechen gunmen.

**[Unnamed ITAR-TASS correspondent] The View From Chechnya**

The delegation headed by Zelimkhan Yandarbiyev flew to Moscow on a special flight from Ingushetia Airport at

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1355 hours yesterday. The delegation was accompanied to the airport by 120 armed separatists.

The delegation was accompanied to the talks in Moscow by a group of officers from the Main Administration of the Russian Federation Presidential Security Service, who had arrived by special plane, and by 12 Chechen bodyguards. The ITAR-TASS correspondent was informed by Khozh-Akhmed Yarikhanov, leader of the negotiating process on the Chechen side, that the delegation consists of Zelimkhan Yandarbiyev, Field Commander Akhmed Zakayev, Yaragi Abdulayev — deputy foreign minister of the "Chechen Republic of Ichkeria" — and Movlen Salamov and Khuseyn Bibulatov, both aides to Zelimkkhan Yandarbiyev.

Khozh-Akhmed Yarikhanov once again confirmed to the ITAR-TASS correspondent that under a prior agreement it was decided to discuss at the talks only the issues of the withdrawal of troops and the cessation of combat operations in Chechnya.

The delegation left Ingushetia on a Yak-40 airplane, on which the flight to Moscow will take around three hours. The talks will presumably begin no earlier than 1730 hours.

**[Yelena Loriya and Vladimir Zainetdinov] The View From Vnukovo-2**

The arrival of Akhmed Zakayev and other separatists headed by Zelimkhan Yandarbiyev for talks in Moscow was shrouded in secrecy. The president's press service actually delivered the strange statement: "No one at all was planning to meet them. We knew nothing about this. But the talks will go ahead." The time and place of the arrival of the plane carrying the Chechen leaders have been thoroughly concealed by the presidential structures. We managed to find out from the Federal Security Service's operational sources that this special service has been effectively sidelined from the meeting with the Chechen delegation. The security of the "negotiators" is being provided by the GUO [Main Protection Directorate] and the presidential security service. Nevertheless, a Moscow Special-Purpose Police Detachment was brought in to guard the gates of Vnukovo-2 Airport. There was no great excitement over Yandarbiyev's arrival. As always, only a couple of dozen journalists gathered outside Vnukovo-2 — there were no representatives of the Chechen diaspora or other curious onlookers at the airport. The journalists in their turn were watched over attentively, but with a smile, by a security officer in civilian uniform. Meanwhile, he made clear attempts to unlock the gates. These attempts were unsuccessful: "You understand, the key does not fit or the lock is rusted..."

At 1610 hours it was announced over the walkie-talkie that the plane carrying the delegation from Chechnya had landed at Vnukovo-2.

**[Unattributed report] The View From the Street**

Numerous armed police details were seen on the Moscow subway yesterday. This is connected with the visit of Yandarbiyev to the capital.

There is nothing unusual in the extra police presence. Internal Troops officers always come to the aid of the capital's police organs on the arrival of important persons. Therefore there will be many police officers in places where large crowds gather and along the route through which the guests will travel, and they will perform their duty with especial vigilance.

**[Aleksandr Gamov] The View From "Sources"**

We were informed by a source in the State Commission for Settling the Chechen Crisis yesterday that the meeting between Boris Yeltsin and Zelimkhan Yandarbiyev is to be conducted in strict accordance with the protocol worked out and confirmed in advance. The source stressed especially that this is a "meeting between the Russian president and the leader of the Chechen separatists, and not talks between government delegations."

Commenting on the possibility of the participation of Viktor Chernomyrdin, Doku Zavgayev, and other interested parties in the conversation, the source noted that this question is entirely at the discretion of Boris Yeltsin: "If the president considers it necessary he will invite Chernomyrdin, Zavgayev, and anyone else who is required."

People on the State Commission for Settling the Chechen Crisis inclines to the view that Yeltsin and Yandarbiyev are unlikely to manage to discuss all the questions "at a single sitting." The leader of the Chechen separatists will possibly have to stay on in Moscow for several more days. The State Commission's experts believe that the results of the talks in many ways depend on whether the Chechen leader observes the main condition: to hold a dialogue on all the questions scheduled for discussion without prior conditions.

**While This Edition Was Being Signed to Press**

We have been informed in the Russian Federation government press service that talks between Boris Yeltsin and Zelimkhan Yandarbiyev have begun in the Kremlin. At the same time the president's press service did not confirm this, and limited itself to saying that the Chechen leader is in Moscow and that his exact whereabouts is unknown.

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**Russia: Yandarbiyev Kept in Moscow To Ensure Yeltsin's Security**

*LD2805114896 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1135 GMT 28 May 96*

[By Tamara Zamyatina]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW May 28 (Itar-Tass) — The presidential security service headed by Aleksandr Korzhakov invented a sensational scheme of ensuring the security of Boris Yeltsin in Chechnya by keeping Chechen separatist leader Zelimkhan Yandarbiyev busy with peace talks in Moscow.

If any shot is fired at the president in Chechnya, the blame will be immediately put on the separatist leadership.

The Kremlin made Zelimkhanov stay longer in Moscow than planned, while the president secretly left for Chechnya and the trip was made public only when he arrived there. Yeltsin thus stood up to his promise to visit Chechnya by the end of May to start peace talks.

Peace talks are already underway, however, in Moscow.

Yandarbiyev and his team were completely unaware of such a turn of developments and even cancelled a press conference.

However, they do not have much to complain about. They arrived in Moscow on a plane provided by the Kremlin, landed in the Vnukovo-2 government airport and were met by the head of state in the Kremlin, not in a countryside residence.

The separatist delegation is holding talks in the prestigious residence in Leninskiy avenue, dubbed ABC, which Yeltsin uses for receptions in honour of regional leaders.

The talks with members of the state commission for the Chechen settlement continue.

**Russia: Yeltsin Meets Grachev in Mozdok Before Flying to Groznyy**

*LD2805075896 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0750 GMT 28 May 96*

[By Andrey Shtorkh]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOZDOK May 28 (Itar-Tass) — Russian President Boris Yeltsin arrived in Mozdok today at 11.00, Moscow time, and flew by helicopter to Chechnya from the airport of that North Ossetian city. Yeltsin is expected to visit the area of deployment of the 205th motorized rifle brigade and to make a speech before servicemen of the federal troops.

President Yeltsin was welcomed at the Mozdok airport by Interior Minister Anatoliy Kulikov, Defence Minister Pavel Grachev and Commander of the North Caucasian military district Anatoliy Kvashnin. The airport was decked with a slogan welcoming and supporting Yeltsin, which said "Dear Boris Nikolayevich, we are with you." A dirigible was hanging over the airport with a three-coloured Russian flag attached to it and the slogan saying "Yeltsin Is Our President."

Yeltsin spoke on more than one occasion about his intention to visit Chechnya. Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin and leader of the separatists Zelimkhan Yandarbiyev signed a document in the Kremlin on Monday in the presence of the head of state, which stopped combat operations in Chechnya as of June 1, and provided for the release of all forcibly detained persons within two weeks after the reaching of the agreement. Talks with the Chechen delegation continue in Moscow today.

President Yeltsin is expected to arrive at the Severnyy airport of Groznyy at 11.45, Moscow time.

**Russia: Yeltsin Arrives in Pravoberezhnoye, Praises Moscow Talks**

*LD2805090596 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0812 GMT 28 May 96*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Shtorkh]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Pravoberezhnoye village (Chechen Republic), 28 May (ITAR-TASS) — Russian President Boris Yeltsin arrived in Pravoberezhnoye village, 20 km from Groznyy, at 1150 Moscow time today. The head of state is accompanied by Interior Minister Anatoliy Kulikov, Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, and Commander of the North Caucasian Military District Anatoliy Kvashnin. [passage omitted]

[Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian at 0818 GMT on 28 May, in another dispatch from Pravoberezhnoye village in Chechnya, reports that "'The talks in Moscow were difficult, but nevertheless crowned with success', Boris Yeltsin told journalists in Mozdok. Speaking about the purpose of his visit to Chechnya, the head of the Russian state said: 'We have to demonstrate that the Chechen Republic is a part of the Russian Federation and that's it.'"

**Russia: Yeltsin Arrives in Groznyy, Congratulates Russian Army**

*LD2805104696 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1026 GMT 28 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY, May 28 (Interfax) — President Boris Yeltsin arrived in the Chechen capital

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of Groznyy Tuesday and congratulated his army on a job well done.

"You have won," he told the 205th mobile infantry unit. "We have defeated the rebellious Dudayev regime." Dzhokhar Dudayev, killed recently in a Russian rocket attack, was the leader of Chechnya's separatist movement.

"The Chechen crisis, which began five years ago when Dzhokhar Dudayev seized power, has entered its final phase," he said.

"Yesterday, we signed an agreement to end military activity in Chechnya," Yeltsin said. "The sides have rejected the use of force to resolve disputed issues. This agreement means peace."

This agreement could have been reached only after the defeat of the separatist militants by federal troops, he said.

Federal troops carried out their constitutional duty, he said, "and if it hadn't been for you," Yeltsin added, "the bandits would have captured hostages in Rostov, and in other Russian cities.

"You didn't allow the country to fall apart, and you defended civilians," Yeltsin said. "You acted lawfully. No one can say that the armed forces are here illegally. You are under the protection of the constitution and the president. The legal government defended its inviolability."

Yeltsin warned that the end of military activity did not mean that small groups of bandits, as Russia has officially referred to the separatists, will go unpunished.

"We have learned the lessons of the past," he said. "We will agree and work with those who have laid down their arms. Those bands that continue their military sallies will be destroyed."

Yeltsin plans to sign an agreement Tuesday in Groznyy on dividing jurisdiction in Chechnya between the Russian Federation and the Chechen Republic, Interfax has learned.

**Russia: Grachev Voices Skepticism Over Chechen Peace Talks**

*LD2505103696 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0933 GMT 25 May 96*

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent Mikhail Shevtsov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Novosibirsk, 25 May (Itar-Tass) — "I don't believe in this" — that is how Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev commented on the possible success of the talks on a peaceful settlement of the conflict in Chechnya with the leadership of the Chechen separatists taking part. The defense minister said this while visiting the special-purpose brigade of the Siberian Military District, stationed in the town of Berdsk (about 10 km south of Novosibirsk).

Grachev believes that Yandarbiyev is not the man to establish peace in Chechnya. "Dudayev could have done something, but he did not want to, and was wiped out," the defense minister said. "Basayev is an out-and-out terrorist and has no influence at all; he has his own gang and will wage war to the end as he realizes that there will be no mercy or forgiveness for him."

The minister summed up the results of the operation in the vicinity of the village of Bamut (west Chechnya). According to Grachev's information, some 400 militants were wiped out and a large quantity of weapons were captured during this action which was completed on Friday. Grachev said that 100 of the dead militants were mercenaries from 12 states.

Pavel Grachev confirmed that it is planned to withdraw troops not belonging to the North Caucasus military district from Chechnya by 1 August. He added, however, that the special subunits, including the Berdsk brigade, might stay on in the republic a little longer to continue special operations to wipe out individual groups of bandits.

**Russia: Yeltsin, Chernomyrdin Discuss Work of Commission on Chechnya**

*LD2805124396 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1217 GMT 28 May 96*

[By Andrey Shtorkh]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY May 28 (Itar-Tass) — President Yeltsin, who visited the area of deployment of the 205th motorized rifle brigade near the Severniy airport of Groznyy, had a telephone conversation with Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, Press Secretary of the Russian President Sergey Medvedev told Tass. They discussed the work of the State Commission for the settlement of the crisis in Chechnya.

The President assigned Chernomyrdin to transfer today 600 billion roubles for paying pension debts and another 300 billion roubles within the coming two or three days for paying wages and holiday allowances, especially to teachers.

Chechen leader Doku Zavgayev and the Chechen government were assigned by Yeltsin to ensure the even and just distribution of the money, coming to Chechnya from the federal budget.

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**Russia: Russian Military, Basayev Seen Displeased With Peace Talks**

*MK2505144396 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 25 May 96 p 3*

[Report by Dmitriy Kamyshev: "Not Everyone Is Happy About the Upcoming Summit"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The information about the forthcoming meeting between Boris Yeltsin and Zelimkhan Yandarbiyev in Moscow, being rather unexpected, was confirmed immediately and unreservedly. According to Vyacheslav Mikhaylov, head of the Nationalities Ministry, the negotiations will be held before the end of May. Although their success can be frustrated by the counteraction of many political forces in Chechnya and Moscow, this meeting, should it take place, will undoubtedly be the most significant event over the whole period of the Chechen conflict.

In the past five years, everybody has gotten used to the fact that most of the reports about planned meetings of official representatives of the Russian leadership and the Chechen separatists were unanimously denied by either one or both sides. Strangely enough, the most sensational information of such kind, however, has proven true: Boris Yeltsin and Zelimkhan Yandarbiyev, Dudayev's successor, have indeed agreed to meet in the near future. Moreover, this meeting will be held not in Chechnya and even not in Dagestan, which is relatively "dear" to the Chechens, but right in the "citadel of Russian imperialism," as the late general [Dudayev] used to call Moscow.

The promptness with which the two sides confirmed the information of Tim Guldimann, head of the OSCE Mission to Chechnya, about the arrangements testifies to the fact that there have been long clandestine preparations. According to Vyacheslav Mikhaylov, the decisive role in this matter was played by members of the State Commission on the Settlement of the Conflict, who had met with the Dudayevites and coordinated the agenda of the future negotiations. Incidentally, the most hazardous issue for the peace process — the status of Chechnya — has not been put on the agenda yet, since organizers of the Moscow meeting believe that its main aim is to revive the military agreements that were signed last year. If the Dudayev side shows consistency, there is a chance that the negotiations, which will start with Yandarbiyev's visit to Moscow and will be continued by Yeltsin's trip to Groznyy, will not end at this.

Incidentally, it is not only Dudayev's supporters who jeopardize the peace process in its present form. The Russian military has declared more than once that it was the onset of talks last year that prevented them from finishing the gunmen off and dragged out the military campaign for one more year. It seems improbable that its opinion could change rapidly after the announcement about the forthcoming meeting. Despite the efforts of the federal forces command, which, judging by the latest events in Bamut, is doing everything to deprive the Dudayevites of their last strongholds before the start of negotiations, it is evident that the military will not have enough time to finish the gunmen off.

Guldimann, engaged in shuttle diplomacy in Chechnya, has met with both Yandarbiyev and Maskhadov. The consent of the Dudayevites to the talks can probably be interpreted as the victory of Maskhadov's moderate policy line and the retreat of Basayev to the background. Surely enough, however, this is not for good: To regain his leading role, Basayev needs only to arrange at least a couple of shooting episodes during Yeltsin's visit or to provoke Moscow by using some other means into refusing to negotiate. Doku Zavgayev is also discontent with the new turn of events: He has spoken more than once against any talks with separatist leaders, who "enjoyed no authority." Indeed, if Moscow is serious about the negotiations, sooner or later it will have to sacrifice Zavgayev for the sake of a coalition government (for "orthodox" Dudayevites, Zavgayev is persona non grata). Then, a compromise leader will have to be searched for.

**Russia: Troops in Chechnya 'Fully Observe' Combat Moratorium**

*LD2805105296 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0922 GMT 28 May 96*

[By Boris Kipkeyev]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, May 28 (Itar-Tass) — Federal troops in Chechnya fully observe the three-day moratorium on combat operations. General Vladimir Shamanov, commander of the joint group of forces of the Russian Defence Ministry, said this to Itar-Tass by telephone from Hankala on Tuesday. Units remain in the areas of their basing. There was no troops movement.

The military command in Chechnya will do everything in its powers so that the accords signed on Monday result in the easing of tension and ending of the war in Chechnya, Shamanov said. He said that the situation last night in Chechnya was "on the whole calm", but in the area of the populated locality of Bamut four armed persons tried to stage a subversive act against units of the federal forces stationed there. The act of subversion has been thwarted, Shamanov said.

In this connection the commander said that despite the fact that the accords have been signed and despite

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guarantees by separatists, there is a certain number of small groups in Chechnya which may stage armed provocations. Shamanov said that "sober-minded forces in the camp of separatists" should shortly step up control over such groups so as to reduce the number of possible provocations for the minimum.

## Economic Issues

**Russia: Yeltsin Signs 10 Percent Minimum Pension Rise**

*LD2705094696 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0838 GMT 27 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, May 27 (INTERFAX) — A federal law on a larger minimum pension in Russia was signed by Russian President Boris Yeltsin Monday.

The law was approved by the State Duma on April 17 and by the the Federation Council (the upper chamber) on May 15, 1996, says a report of the presidential press service received by Interfax.

The law introduces a 69,575 ruble (about $14) monthly minimum pension retroactive to May 1, 1996. All the pensions will be increased by 1.1 times as compared to the pensions paid in April, says the report.

**Russia: Deputies Criticize Failure To Implement Budget**

*MM2705144196 Moscow PRAVDA-5 in Russian 24-31 May 96 p 2*

[Feature by parliamentary correspondent Olga Koroleva incorporating interviews with Vasiliy Grishin and Vladimir Nikitin, members of the State Duma Committee for the Budget, Taxes, Banks, and Finances; date, place of interviews not given: "Grade D for the Budget — Warning Sign of Imminent Social Explosion. Red Light for the Government"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On the eve of the presidential elections the current president and the government are trying hard to remind the population about their successes and achievements. Their main trump card is "economic reform." Its historic significance and huge influence on the cardinal renewal of the "system" are stressed. By way of "confirmation" "statistics" on the reduction in the level of inflation and the arrival of economic stabilization are adduced.

However, a State Duma decree has deemed the Cabinet of Ministers' activity in implementing the Federal Law "On the Federal Budget for 1996" unsatisfactory. Deputies have exposed a host of violations during the implementation of the budget in the first quarter of this year. Preferential credits were granted illegally and were used to support the president's election campaign. Because of this and other budgetary "machinations" the treasury received less than half the taxes it should have received. Accordingly, large sums of money did not reach the [due] recipients.

Today many economists are making gloomy forecasts. But State Duma Deputies Vasiliy Grishin and Vladimir Nikitin, members of the Committee for the Budget, Taxes, Banks, and Finances, see the solution to the deadlock in changing the country's leadership and in seriously modifying economic policy.

They were interviewed by our parliamentary correspondent Olga Koroleva.

**Vasiliy Grishin**

The budget for the first quarter this year was a failure in every respect. What was the reason for this? Was it mistakes made by he government in drawing up the draft budget, or poor monitoring on the government's part of its implementation? In my view, it was both. But the most important factor is that the economy is being "strangled" by nonpayments. According to various assessments, the money supply has been squeezed to half the level necessary for normal mutual settlements.

There were additional costs too: Last year's commitments were still being fulfilled, and a significant part of the internal debt was converted to external debt. And, of course, financing the budget deficit through internal and external borrowing placed a major burden on the revenue side of the budget.

The government is incapable of controlling economic processes. It constantly has to "put out fires" and patch up financial holes.

Wishing to sweeten the dissatisfied population before the elections, it channeled virtually all cash into issuing overdue pay and pensions. Of course, no money was left for developing and maintaining production. Whole sectors are on the brink of closure. If this happens, a social explosion is inevitable. That is what the present government is afraid of. Yeltsin, Chernomyrdin, and their circle are trying to assure us that economic stabilization has arrived. But this is only an effort to pass off wishes as reality.

In fact, they have driven our economy into an impasse from which any successor to Yeltsin will have great difficulty in rescuing it. Obviously, the situation will become even more difficult come the fall: It will be time to pay out on state securities, and this will consume a considerable proportion of the budget.

And several generations of Russians will have to pay for the external debt, which is clearly understated in

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the official figure of $130 billion. All in all, we will be clearing up the mess our current rulers have made for many years to come. And it is very funny to hear people say that only Yeltsin will be able to continue the economic "reforms." If he continues and completes his "reforms," in a few years' time there will be simply nothing left to "reform."

No one any longer believes the myth circulated by the president's supporters that Yeltsin's team alone contains "world class" economists. These so-called "world class" economists, who have a smattering of theory and have never worked in production, have overestimated their own powers. Coming out of their scientific laboratories, they have tried to control these complex, ramified, multistructural economic processes — and naturally, they have achieved miserable results....

The official slogan: "There is no alternative to Yeltsin" — is unconvincing. He has long since compromised himself and lost the people's confidence. It is not the first time that such a ruse has been tried in our history, but a replacement for the "irreplaceable" has always been found....

**Vladimir Nikitin**

The 1995 budget remained on paper. The current budget is again falling through. In the first quarter only 40 percent of the scheduled tax revenue was received. Hence the underfunding of many departments and regions and the reduction in the planned expenditure on defense, law enforcement activity, the social and cultural sphere, the agroindustrial complex, and the export of goods to regions of the Far North.

The State Duma and the Russian Federation Comptroller's Office have established that circulation of funds between the 1995 and 1996 budgets and the payment of last year's debts on treasury bonds completely distort the real picture. This is why the data of the State Tax Service, the Federal Exchequer, and the Ministry of Finance differ so much. The Ministry of Finance, as always, is trying to embellish reality. However, the facts prove that in the first quarter the treasury received a shortfall of around 20 trillion rubles [R]. The government tried to compensate for these arrears by additional internal borrowing and external credits (which in total came to 40 percent of the annual norm stipulated in the budget). Despite this, the expenditure side of the budget was fulfilled by only 75.9 percent.

The time taken to transfer money from the federal budget into the budgets of the Russian Federation components has increased. Some regions have to wait three or four months.

Another hidden "minefield" is Chechnya. Appropriations to Chechnya are not allocated as a separate item in the budget and are scattered amongst various ministries. Many departments are directing money into Chechnya, but it is very difficult to monitor their real expenditure, because of military operations and the general chaos.

A number of substantial amendments msut be made to this year's budget, and the Duma will return to this issue again, although it is already clear that the implementation of the budget will be a failure.

Moreover, it is already time to start work on the draft budget for 1997. But the government has still not submitted to the State Duma a draft law on the minimum social standards that should be taken as the starting point in compiling budget articles. We will have to demand this material, although it should long ago have been provided to us and to the organs of local self-government.

In its decree the State Duma proposed that in the second quarter the government should introduce a unified accounting system for state institutions producing economic statistics, and also exclude the practice whereby these institutions use commercial bank loans in transactions with the ministry and the regions — after all, at the end of the day they themselves have to pay the interest on these loans. Budget-financed workers lose some of their money through the fault of the state, and the commercial banks continue to get rich....

The measures adopted by this government have long since been exhausted. The expansion of the currency band will bring no results, unless the fundamentals of state economic and foreign economic policy are completely changed. New methods, new priorities, and a new tax system are needed.

All the indications are that the growth of inflation is again inevitable after the elections — it will be necessary to pay for the pyramid currently being constructed from state treasury bonds on the model of the MMM [Marathon/McDermott/Mitsui] joint-stock company. The pyramid will collapse and the printing presses will start running again. It is a crown of thorns, not a laurel crown, that awaits the winner of the presidential race. But only a change in the country's leadership will enable us to break out of this vicious circle.

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**Russia: Duma Aide Reports Government Borrowing More Than Planned**

*MM2705130896 Moscow FINANSOVYYE IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 May 96 p 2*

[Report by Yelena Rubleva: "Government Overfulfills 'Debt Plan'" — received via Internet]

[FBIS Translated Text] London — The State Duma supports limits on the issue of state securities, which have become one of the main means of funding the budget this year, Mikhail Zadornov, chairman of the budget committee of the Russian parliament's lower chamber, stated in London yesterday, addressing foreign investors at the conference "Russian Financial Markets." The conference was organized by the Royal Institute of International Relations in conjunction with the FINANCIAL TIMES and FINANSOVYYE IZVESTIYA.

In the first quarter of this year the budget took 18.5 trillion rubles [R] from the state securities market. This is 130 percent more than the plan target.

In addition, the state borrowed R4 trillion from commercial banks for recipients of budget funds. The state is standing surety for this loan and is committed to repaying the loan plus 55 percent interest a year which, in the government's opinion, is consciously set above the rate of inflation.

The $4 billion borrowed in the foreign market (according to figures for the first 3.5 months) does not tally with the plan target either and represents 40 percent of all foreign debts for this year.

The main factor prompting the government to borrow more than planned is the extremely low level of budget receipts. The results for the first 3.5 months show that Russian budget revenue was 60-65 percent of the planned target. In addition, 20-30 percent of budget payments, according to Zadornov, are being made on a barter basis in the form of "coal, fish, and metal." The picture is varied further by such financial market surrogates as unsecured local administration bills of exchange. All this is due to total arrears which are currently 50 percent higher than GDP.

On the eve of the elections the government has been forced to emphasize social payments and pare appropriations for other items of expenditure to the bone. Expenditure currently stands at 75 percent of the plan target and is directed toward current consumption. Expenditure on geological prospecting work, defense, and investments has been reduced to the minimum. The result is that budget investments are just 3.5 percent of the plan.

It is not only the scale of the state's debts that is above the plan but also the cost. The desire to pay wages before the elections has more than tripled the cost of borrowing. Whereas at the start of the year the aim set by the government and parliament of cutting the state short-term bond yield to 30-40 percent seemed feasible (in January-February it fell from 120 percent to 55 percent), at the end of March this aim seemed unrealistic. The yield, which rose to 155 percent 22 March, remains at 190 percent a year which, of course, is diverting the already meager investments from the real sector of the economy into the ultra-high-yielding state short-term securities market.

**Russia: Deputy Economy Minister Justifies Sliding Currency Rate**

*MK2405135496 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 24 May 96 p 2*

[Report by Elmar Murtazayev: "'Currency Band' Has Fulfilled Its Task. The Economy Ministry Believes That the Sliding Rate Will Not Lead to a Growth in Inflation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Deputy Economy Minister Sergey Vasilyev believes that, under the conditions of a possible change of power in the country as a result of the presidential election, the introduction of an inclined ruble exchange rate was a necessary measure. With the help of the inclined rate — "a disciplining mechanism" of currency regulation — the Central Bank and the Government have virtually predetermined the financial policy of a future president.

Even if Gennadiy Zyuganov wins the election, the Communist Government will be placed within rigid framework of possible financial decisions, which is essential "in view of the economic qualification of the Communists." Should, however, the Communists try to alter this order and start printing money, in the opinion of the deputy minister, this will exhaust hard currency reserves of the Central Bank as rapidly as within one or two months, which, in its turn, will trigger inflation. "This has already happened once, during the 'Black Tuesday,'" Mr. Vasilyev recalled.

Nonetheless, the introduction of a sliding rate had objective economic reasons too. The deputy economy minister disagrees with the opinion of some experts saying that the introduction of a sliding rate will speed up inflation. He believes that it is of fundamental importance that the exchange rate grow at slower pace than inflation. Under the conditions where the inflation rate fell to 2.2 percent in April and 1.6 percent in May, it is not quite correct to maintain a fixed rate, taking into consideration a potential negative effect of a fixed rate

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on the Russian trade balance. Under the current inflation trends, its level could go down to 1 percent a month by the end of the year, and at such a level it is virtually unaffected by the currency exchange rate. In view of the forthcoming presidential election, however, the monthly inflation level can grow to 3 percent; therefore, it is necessary that the currency rate lag behind the inflation, Sergey Vasilyev emphasized.

In Mr. Vasilyev's opinion, "any cries about the harmfulness of the currency band" are simply groundless. Despite assurances of exporters, who "tend to dramatize their own financial situation," the Russian exports have even grown and reached record figures in March. "The currency band has fulfilled its main task: Inflationary expectations have been alleviated," the deputy minister said. In his words, the experience of other countries, "such as a negative one in Mexico and a positive one in Poland," shows that it is completely right to tie up the currency exchange rate with inflation.

**Russia: Edict To Transfer Central Bank Profit Seen Boosting Inflation**

*MK2805083096 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 25 May 96 p 1*

[Article by Irina Yasina: "President Recommends Central Bank Print 5 Trillion Rubles"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 22 May 1996, Boris Yeltsin signed an edict "On the Transfer of Central Bank of Russia Revenue to the Federal Budget." The edict recommends that the Central Bank transfer its revenue to the federal budget in May 1996, in accordance with the 1994 report, to the tune of 5 trillion rubles [R].

The only relatively positive aspect is the "to recommend" formulation, which is untypical of a presidential edict. It recognizes the independence of the Central Bank, leaving the leadership of the latter the illusory hope of turning down this recommendation from the country's president. However, should the recommendation not be followed, the Central Bank would take the entire blame.

The positive aspect ends there. Whereas the Central Bank's profit reached R11.5 trillion, it only transferred about R2 trillion to the budget and the balance was forwarded to the reserve fund, and the fund for economic stimulation of the Central bank of Russia. This was, however, done in correspondence with the law "On the Central Bank" providing for the distribution of Central Bank profits in accordance with the decision of the Central Bank Board of Directors. The Central Bank's profits in the course of 1995 were substantially lower owing to the fact that the Bank of Russia ceased the issue of centralized credits. Furthermore, the Central Bank's profits were not accumulating in 1995, but were, rather, periodically transferred to the budget.

The current year's planned budget revenue from the Central Bank is R5 trillion. However, the Central Bank would like to transfer sums from the current year's profit only after having taken stock of the year's results, and so they may be transferred only to the 1997 budget.

The government has long been warming up to the idea of the transfer of Central Bank profit to the federal budget. Under the prevailing situation where state outlays are extremely high, and where the collection of taxes — according to a number of sources — has fallen below 60 percent of the target, the government is scraping for money, and so stops at nothing to add to the revenue part of the budget. In the process it totally forgets that the profit of the Central Bank — which is, strictly speaking, not just a bank, but a money-issuing center — strongly differs from the profit of a commercial bank. According to IMF methodology, Central Bank profit transferred to the budget directly increases the money supply, that is to say, it speeds up the rate of inflation.

**Russia: Zaveryukha Says Agriculture Must Remain on Path of Reform**

*LD2705163796 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1428 GMT 27 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, May 27 (INTERFAX) — Stability for Russia's agricultural sector will come just by staying the course of reforms, though these reforms may need some adjustment, Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Zaveryukha said Monday at Interfax's central office in Moscow.

He disagreed with the notion that the agricultural sector has not really begun reforms, but said rather that it "has come very far" in this regard, with the country now 100 percent self-sufficient in grain, potatoes, vegetables, and "almost completely" in sunflower seed oil.

Land reforms must continue, he said, and, on this basis, "and with government support, the efficiency of production needs to increase." He criticized the parliament as the main cause of the "absence in Russia of real land turnover and an inflow of investment," as the Duma deputies "stubbornly refuse to pass the necessary Land Code" despite the president's March 7 order on the constitutional rights of citizens to land, he said.

As for support to the agricultural sector, this will go only to efficient farmers. "Part of the population, once chased into the kolkhozes [collective farms], degenerated," Zaveryukha said, but "most of the farmers support the path of further reforms."

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**Russia: Food Panic Predicted With Any Outcome of Election**

*MK2805065396 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 24 May 96 p 2*

[Report by Viktor Khamrayev: "The Magical Power of Propaganda. Even if the Communists Do Not Win the Election, Russians Will Be Eating Less"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A depletion of food supplies by early summer was predicted yesterday by Anatoliy Levenchuk, director of the Institute of Commercial Engineering, after analyzing, in the presence of Moscow journalists, the "economic implications" of Gennadiy Zyuganov's election program.

Mr. Levenchuk, by his own admission, in contrast to presidential structures and the Government, monitors not only the "statistical but also the actual economy," and therefore he noticed the "paradox" of the present time, when the "food situation is worsening" while there are "steady trends toward improvement in most macroeconomic indicators." Like the president's economic adviser Aleksandr Livshits, Mr. Levenchuk drew the journalists' attention to the fact that "in the hinterland, not in Moscow," people are actively buying up buckwheat, flour, sugar, and so forth.

Mr. Levenchuk attributes the "sudden" surge in consumer demand for "food staples" to the people's fear of a possible Communist victory in the election. Mr. Levenchuk, like the presidential adviser, has no doubts that "the food products will stay on the shelves." Even so, the commercial engineering director is sure that their prices will "rise sharply." Mr. Levenchuk does not expect any other reaction to the growing demand because the traders are also frightened by the "antimarket measures in the platform of the CPRF [Communist Party of the Russian Federation] candidate."

The journalists were informed that one-third of food importers have taken their "working capital" to the near or far abroad under food contracts and that they do not intend to bring food into the country until after the Communists lose the election. Another one-third are lying low "just in case" and do not replenish their supplies at depots, which are still well stocked. The remaining one-third (represented at yesterday's press conference by Yevgeniy Shkulanov, head of the Association of Young Economists, and Feliks Tokarev, chairman of the League of Young Entrepreneurs) would be only too happy to meet the ever growing demand but they have no such capability, because up until now their trade has been based on commodity credits, which were "willingly" provided by foreign suppliers until only a couple of months ago. Now, however, according to Tokarev, foreign suppliers demand a 100 percent advance payment.

As a result, Anatoliy Levenchuk believes, "the low-income brackets will have to reduce their food consumption, which is already deficient," even if Mr. Zyuganov does not win the election. Therefore, Mr. Levenchuk thinks, Gennadiy Zyuganov's "pro-Communist propaganda" is emerging as "quite a material force," which proves the economic "theory of rational expectations": "If people expect the situation to worsen, the situation will necessarily do so."

**Russia: T-Bill Market Riding for Fall Before June Election**

*MK2505142796 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 24 May 96 p 5*

[Report by Igor Trosnikov and Dmitriy Ladygin: "The Treasury Bill Market as a Mirror of Election Struggle"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A new jump in the bond yield occurred yesterday on the state short-term T-bill [GKO] market. Following a trading session at the Moscow Interbank Currency Exchange, the weighted average annualized bond yield grew by 30 percentage points, to an all-time high this year: 150 percent. Most independent experts and analysts agree that the main reason for the destabilization of the T-bill market is the presidential election.

Judging by the growth of Boris Yeltsin's rating, his election campaign is apparently proceeding well enough and can lead to his election for a second term. The question is the price of this victory in the literal sense of the word. Judging by the T-bill market — which is today one of the main sources of budgetary resources — the Finance Ministry experiences an acute shortage of funds almost every day and has to pick the GKO market close to clean. This must account for the increase in the Wednesday [22 May] bond emission volume by 1 trillion rubles and the hefty additional bond placements on the secondary market, which came as a total surprise to market makers. Only yesterday the Central Bank, which performs agency functions, placed an additional 450,000 bonds of various issues, worth nearly 300 billion rubles.

It is also noteworthy that in the recent period not even the Finance Ministry's refusal to place long-term papers was able to help it (auction offerings consists of either three-month GKO's or additional placements of six-month bonds or federal loan bonds with short maturity terms). Even short-term papers are no longer in sufficient demand with the dealers, which compels the Finance Ministry to increase the price of borrowing

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on the internal market. Indicative in this respect was the latest auction for the placement of six-month 23d and 35th bond issues with maturity terms of 105 and 119 days, respectively. The annual weighted average yield on these papers was 148 percent and 175 percent, respectively. Even the 700 billion rubles, which the Finance Ministry secured for the state budget, pale somewhat against this backdrop.

Reaction by T-bill market makers to these developments varies. Dealers relate the destabilization of the T-bill market directly to Boris Yeltsin's election campaign and, to all appearances, are trying gradually to divert money from it. It is quite possible that someone is trying his hand on the stock market, which has recently seen a trend toward a sustained growth in paper quotations. The Central Bank is taking a philosophical approach, noting that the situation on the market "reflects the situation in the country." They refused to explain what lay behind the phrase, but it can be presumed that the Central Bank source meant the election.

The only place where we did not manage to obtain a comment was the Finance Ministry. Apologizing for her refusal to give an interview, a securities department officer told your KOMMERSANT-DAILY correspondent that they had an enormous work load. It looks like Finance Ministry officials today, indeed, have no time for dealing with the press. As we have been told at one bank, the Finance Ministry is now in an extremely difficult position. It is not even that in June the issuer will find it increasingly difficult to control the T-bill market, because the payment schedule that month will be substantially more strenuous than in May. With any outcome of the presidential election, the Finance Ministry will be the first to answer for the condition of the T-bill market, and ministry officials cannot fail to realize that. This must be why the Finance Ministry's position is in line with the well-known principle: "After us the deluge."

**Russia: Tax Edict Amnesty Seen as 'Electoral Ploy'**

*MM2805083996 Moscow FINANSOVYYE IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 May 96 p 1*

[Article by Yevgeniya Pismennaya: "Another Tax Amnesty Declared in Russia" — received via Internet]

[FBIS Translated Text] The presidential edict "On the Basic Guidelines for Tax Reform in the Russian Federation and Measures To Strengthen Fiscal and Payment Discipline" has been signed. Aleksandr Livshits, aide to the president for economic matters, commented that the edict combines tougher measures with regulatory measures.

Essentially, the edict largely duplicates a number of the provisions of the Tax Code. As the government has explained, the president initiated the edict on tax reform because of the long and difficult passage the code was having. It is assumed that the edict is a product of the Presidential Staff Legal Administration. This shows that the administration is trying more actively than before to embark on the resolution of general economic problems.

The edict establishes some main avenues for state policy in the sphere of tax reform — the building of a stable tax system to ensure that the system of taxes and nontax payments is unified, noncontradictory, and unchanging throughout the financial year; the reduction of the number of taxes as of January 1997 through consolidation and the abolition of targeted taxes which do not yield significant amounts of revenue; the consolidation of state nonbudgetary funds in the state budget; the easing of the tax burden on producers and the prevention of dual taxation; the development of tax federalism and the establishment as of 1 January 1997 of minimum revenue levels from each tax to budgets at various levels; the reduction of concessions, and so forth.

The point relating to the replacement of excise duty on certain kinds of mineral raw materials by resource payments in the form of agreements on the division of output or stable monthly payments on each deposit in terms of the amount of resource (product) produced calculated in rubles at the average export price over the preceding month and the rate set by the Central Bank for the payment date looks as though it will be difficult to implement.

Moreover, the edict regulates certain particular tax issues. Thus, as of 1 January 1997 advance payments are to be abolished, payers of profits tax will include in full in prime cost all expenditure related to earning a profit, along with nonsales expenditure. The depreciation procedure has been changed, and as of 1 October this year payment of profits tax upon dispatch is being introduced. The date of dispatch will be deemed to be the date when the relevant title documents were transferred, and the date work was done will be considered the date when to all intents and purposes the work was completed. In the opinion of the drafters of the edict, this measure will put a stop to the increasingly widespread use of late of barter.

Moreover, as of 1 July VAT [value-added tax] refunds on exports will be paid only after earnings have been received by the taxpayer at a Russian bank. A new norm is being introduced whereby all payers of VAT are obliged to draw up sales invoices.

But the main innovation in the edict is the introduction of another tax amnesty. Many experts are describing this as an electoral ploy. As of 20 May this year no penalty will be levied on arrears of tax to the federal

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budget on which payment was due by enterprises and organizations. The government needs to submit to the State Duma within three months a draft federal law on the tax amnesty, which will apply to defense enterprises in particular. As of 20 May the size of the penalty will be reduced from 0.7 percent of the unpaid tax for each day of late payment to 0.3 percent.

Aleksandr Livshits is confident that this edict will simultaneously ease the tax burden and boost tax receipts. Finance Minister Vladimir Panskov also believes that the main effect of the edict will be to get the level of tax receipts "moving again." Although he admitted that (as usual) the precise economic impact of the document had not been worked out.

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## International Affairs

### Ukraine: Kiev Opposes Deployment of Nuclear Arms in New NATO States

*LD2605192796 Kiev UT-1 Television Network in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 26 May 96*

[No video available]

[FBIS Translated Text] A conference in Bonn early last week, organized by NATO and the German Foreign Ministry, discussed problems concerning disarmament and the destruction of chemical and nuclear weapons. The conference addressed these issues in the light of recent geopolitical changes in Europe following the fall of communist regimes and the current trend toward NATO expansion. Volodymyr Horbulin, secretary of the Ukrainian National Security Council, attended the conference and commented on Ukraine's position for this program.

[Begin Horbulin recording] We need to re-examine existing geostrategic realities in Europe. The treaty was signed at the time of confrontation between two blocs, which no longer exists. Our proposal was backed by Russia. Although our positions differ, we share the same view that it is necessary to revise the schedule of limitation and bring it in line with the existing realities in Ukraine, Russia, and other countries that emerged in the territory of the former Soviet Union.

We cannot hide our concern that [NATO's] expansion may put Ukraine in a buffer position. That is why we as a nonaligned state would like to have certain guarantees regarding NATO expansion. Primarily, we are opposed to the presence of nuclear weapons in any country that is likely to join NATO. To us, a country that voluntarily renounced nuclear arms, it is a matter of principle. [end recording]

### Ukraine: Security Adviser on Nuclear Arms Reduction

*WS2405121196 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian 21 May 96 p 3*

[Report on a speech by V. Horbulin, the Ukrainian president's national security adviser, delivered during the international conference on disarmament in Bonn on 20-21 May]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 20-21 May, at the initiative of NATO and the German Foreign Ministry, an international conference devoted to problems connected with disarmament and destruction of chemical and nuclear weapons is taking place in Bonn, Germany. The conference is attended by V.P. Horbulin, secretary of the Ukrainian Presidential National Security Council. Below are the main points of his speech.

In the process of disarmament and the destruction of chemical and nuclear weapons, Ukraine, just as other countries that sprang up on the territory of the former Soviet Union, found itself faced with three groups of problems: complying with previously concluded international agreements in the new geostrategic reality, the need to develop cooperation in the above [disarmament and destruction of chemical and nuclear weapons] international security spheres, and financing the entire set of related measures during the ongoing economic crisis.

Highly praising the role of agreements and treaties that have been signed thus far in the sphere of global and regional disarmament, as well as agreements supporting a proper level of international security, Ukraine also seeks to ensure strict compliance with accords aimed at strengthening confidence and openness in the military sphere. One should also acknowledge the systems of control over rocket technologies, conventional arms exports, dual-purpose technologies, etc. We perfectly understand that it is only possible to ensure security in Europe and the entire world if all countries, including those that appeared after the demise of the Soviet Union, adopt a comprehensive approach in handling disarmament issues. Our state, however, does not conceal that it encounters a range of complicated problems while implementing accords signed by the former USSR.

The geopolitical situation in Europe, particularly in its central and eastern parts, dramatically changed in the 1980's and 1990's, and it is dynamically changing now as a result of the desire of most countries in this region to integrate into European structures (EU, NATO, WEU) or closely cooperate with them.

With the disappearance of the USSR and Warsaw Pact, all efforts to achieve a balance between former adversaries, which have now become at least partners in a relevant [Partnership for Peace] program, lost their sense.

On the agenda now is a sweeping transformation of NATO into one of the foundations of the European collective security system.

In this context, the non-bloc status of Ukraine, a large country by European standards, represents a special case.

Meanwhile, the treaties on conventional arms in Europe [CFE] and Open Skies contain limitations, quotas, and balances that were devised for bloc states which were part of two antagonistic military alliances. Thus, the political reality no longer matches the limitations and control and confidence measures belonging to the bygone era. This has provoked political and legal collisions, the example of which, as far as Ukraine is concerned, are

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flanking limitations [flanhovi obmezhennya] in the former Odessa Military District.

Ukraine is by no means seeking to breach the concluded accords or revise its basic principles. However, it believes that as part of creating a new European security architecture, a pressing task is to adjust a range of concluded treaties to the new reality. It is a matter of putting forth joint efforts to modernize measures preventing threats to security as they change their nature and direction.

After it inherited the world's third largest nuclear potential from the former USSR, Ukraine has felt a huge burden of responsibility for international nuclear security.

The creation of an independent democratic Ukrainian state pursuing a consistent policy in the sphere of nonproliferation and liquidation of nuclear arms offered an opportunity to significantly ease the global nuclear tension.

Obviously, the international community has to realize that a large European state has voluntarily and forever given up its nuclear weapons.

The liquidation of arms has confronted Ukraine and other countries with entirely new problems — ensuring security for the very process of removing nuclear and other types of weapons, as well as providing security guarantees for themselves.

Those problems also include the long-term responsibility of nuclear countries to implement relevant commitments that they have assumed regarding Ukraine.

In this connection, it should be emphasized that Ukraine is interested in the continued safe utilization or preservation of nuclear materials that it handed over. It also supports international efforts to prevent their illegal proliferation, and will continue to actively participate in relevant control mechanisms.

The reduction of the European area containing nuclear arms thanks to the taking away of more than 600,000 square meters of Ukrainian territory provides a unique opportunity to implement, as part of the Pugwash process, the idea of a nuclear-free status for the huge region of Central and East Europe, ranging from the Black Sea to the Baltic Sea.

Creation of a common nuclear-free zone in the region, whose status would allow it to cover both neutral and aligned states, would promote confidence in Europe. The threat of a new confrontation and new lines of division on the continent would disappear.

It should be noted that Europe has already experienced nuclear-free nonalignment. As is known, such NATO countries as Denmark and Norway long ago proclaimed the principle whereby they refuse to accept nuclear weapons on their territories in peacetime. Having discarded nuclear weapons, Ukraine proposes that a moratorium be imposed on expanding the territory containing nuclear weapons in European countries.

This proposal, it seems, becomes especially urgent in the context of a known problem stemming from NATO enlargement with Central European states.

Ukraine is one country that does not possess chemical weapons; it signed the convention on chemical weapons and participates in the work of the Preparatory Commission set up to ban them.

At the same time, proceeding from national and international security interests, one should study the possibility of international cooperation in such a delicate field as the destruction of chemical weapons which could have been sunk offshore in the days of the USSR in what is now Ukraine's economic zone in the Black Sea.

Unfortunately, all queries regarding the possible detection of such sites which were sent to the Russian Federation leadership have remained unanswered thus far. To rule out the possibility of finding such sites on its territory, Ukraine is forced to carry out necessary sea research projects.

Ukraine's pragmatism in its approach to the full and consistent fulfillment of the concluded accords requires one to ask a question about the cost of disarmament.

Because of economic hardships, Ukraine is not capable, without foreign assistance, of completely fulfilling the USSR's commitments on disarmament and the armament stockpile accumulated by that country on Ukrainian territory. Those treaties, signed before Ukraine proclaimed its independence, are entirely supported by our country. Their implementation, however, requires international efforts.

An economic aspect of disarmament is closely connected with the social one, including housing construction and retraining, and the employment of servicemen discharged into the reserves.

It is a particularly pressing problem for Ukraine, as we have already paid twice an exorbitant price. The first time was when the militarization of our economy was carried out with the knowledge and consent of the Ukrainian nation. The second time is now when we are forced to allocate considerable funds for arms destruction rather than social problems in the continuing economic crisis.

The liquidation of arms calls for the resolution of several complicated technological and ecological prob-

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lems. During this process of destroying various kinds of rocket fuel, conventional arms, and in some other cases, Ukraine, for the first time ever, has to develop its own technology or use expensive imported technology.

One must not set the precedent of incompletely resolving this super complicated and complex problem. Our experience has shown convincingly that while preparing agreements of this kind, special attention should be paid to devising mechanisms for their implementation, taking into consideration first of all technological and ecological consequences.

The process of nuclear disarmament requires new approaches. The analysis of a mutual deterrence model incorporated into the PRO [?SALT], START, and START-2 Treaties allows the conclusion to be drawn that this model reflects the "cold war" logic when two military-political blocs were held hostages by their nuclear stockpiles.

In addition, this model does not eliminate the possibility of modernizing strategic offensive weapons or making considerable progress in any field of military equipment development, which can have a destabilizing influence on the sphere of strategic offensive weapons. This means that if START-2 is not supported by new nuclear disarmament agreements, the technological progress will be able to significantly curtail the political capital accumulated as a result of its signing.

One could not help but consider the possibility that as a result of the subsiding strategic stand-off between Russia and the United States, the role of the strategic potentials of other states will be inevitably growing. This will pose the threat of growing tensions in new directions.

On the road to reducing the level of nuclear stand-off, the quantitative reduction of nuclear arms should not be a goal in itself. The main goal of agreements in this sphere should be diminishing the threat of using nuclear arms. In the immediate future, in our opinion, accords will become increasingly important on measures aimed at enhancing confidence and transparency in the military-strategic sphere which, in the context of radically reducing strategic offensive weapons and optimizing structures of strategic potentials, should resolve the main task of the next disarmament stage — ensuring strategic stability.

The international community is faced with a task of transferring the nuclear forcible deterrence into a political, legal, and verification one. This would not only ensure the inevitability and consistency of arms reduction talks, but it would also allow nuclear club members [nuclear states] to start, in cooperation with other states, moving toward a safe model of strategic relations that guarantee stability on a nuclear-free basis.

**Ukraine: Article Views Kiev's Role in CIS**

*WS2805094596 Kiev VSEUKRAINSKIYE VEDOMOSTI in Russian 22 May 96 p 3*

[Report by E. Nesterenko: "If Communists Come to Power in Russia, the CIS Will Come Apart the Next Day"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *How long will the CIS exist? Politicians and analysts tried to answer this question practically immediately after it was established. A well-known Russian Duma resolution denouncing the Belovezhskaya Accords was the first to pose such a serious threat to the existence of the CIS. It seemed at the time that only several steps were left before the breakup of the CIS....*

At first sight, a CIS summit in May, which was held against the background of the Russian presidential campaign, rallied the CIS at least around one issue: Heads of CIS member-states supported Boris Yeltsin unanimously thinking correctly that — given the variety of candidates for the post of Russian president — precisely the incumbent master of the Kremlin can strengthen democratic reforms in the country and make them irreversible. In the opinion of the Moscow summit participants, if communists come to power in Russia, the CIS will fall apart the next day. Are the chances running high that the CIS will not simply "survive," but also strengthen its positions under Yeltsin's rule?

The mere fact that the stability of CIS ties depends on who comes to power, makes one think. There is an opinion that if Russian Communist Party head Gennadiy Zyuganov becomes Russian president, the CIS will continue to exist without Russia. To what extent is this true? Let us recall that it was precisely Russia that initiated the establishment of this association of states, former USSR republics. In addition, it was precisely under Russia's guidance that the CIS began to more and more resemble the former USSR. It was at no one's but Russia's initiative that the CIS acquired external and internal borders and a Tashkent Pact enshrined the tenet on the CIS Joint Armed Forces. Recent decisions to create supernational leading bodies have increased this resemblance.

In order to create an illusion that Russia does not run the CIS, the CIS headquarters was set up in Minsk. But after Belarus signed an agreement with Russia on the establishment of the Community of Sovereign Republics, that is, when it — in essence — became part of the Russian Federation, the CIS leading body

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found itself in Russia. This, however, is not surprising, because the CIS, in fact, was envisaged as a certain military counterbalance to NATO and as an economic counterbalance to the EU.

Truth be told, looking back at the almost five-year history of the CIS, one can say that this association has almost not justified its creators' hopes. The Tashkent Pact has failed to establish an assault formation of armed forces. Not all CIS member-states hailed an agreement on CIS internal and external borders. In addition, the CIS cannot be called a strong economic union. Only Belarus chose the most profound form of integration. Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and again Belarus chose deeper integration [as published]. None of the other CIS member-states is in a hurry [to do so]. They prefer to conduct their own economic and political reform and to pursue a relatively independent foreign policy.

Of course, it is impossible to say boldly that it was precisely Ukraine that "damaged" the CIS to the greatest extent, which is the Kremlin's opinion. But the fact that the CIS has not become the second USSR can be credited to a great extent to Ukraine. Perhaps Ukraine was the only state out of the former USSR countries (not to mention the Baltic states that are not at all CIS members) that is a CIS associate member. This associate membership makes it possible for us to decide independently whether to join [certain unions] or not and whether participate [in them] or not. The most important issue is that Ukraine has the right to participate in CIS summits and express there its own viewpoints on one issue or another. Perhaps precisely this triggered a peculiar breakup of the CIS: For example, certain countries supported concluding bilateral agreements on free trade instead of joining the CIS Customs Union. They supported some other proposals too.

Ukraine's opinion became a peculiar alternative to many of Russia's proposals aimed at strengthening its dictate within the CIS. But a peculiar split of countries in "pro-Russian" and "pro-Ukrainian" did not lead to the establishment of full-fledged groups, because our country does not want to play the role of an opposition leader. The countries sharing Ukraine's opinion (for example, Armenia and Azerbaijan) will apparently either become CIS "associate members" or finally quit the CIS.

By the way, at first Kazakhstan also supported Ukraine's viewpoint on many issues, but Nursultan Nazarbayev signed documents on deepening the integration with Russia. However, many Russian analysts do not quite trust the sincerity of Nazarbayev's intentions. There are weighty reasons for this. First of all, despite its "integrative" decision, Kazakhstan continues to "look back" at its eastern neighbors and participates in meetings of the Organization for Economic Cooperation (Iran, Pakistan, and Turkey). Second, Nursultan Nazarbayev is planning to replace the Cyrillic alphabet — used by the Kazakh language now — by the Roman alphabet. In the opinion of observers, this measure will inevitably weaken the Russian influence on Kazakhstan.

Hence, it is quite possible that using its commitments to be in friendly relations with Russia as a cover, Kazakhstan is simply accumulating strength to — once and for all — put an end to both the Russian influence on it and the CIS in general. After all, considering the geographic and geopolitical location of this Republic, the interests of the East are much more congenial to Kazakhstan. The same refers to Ukraine that is more congenial to the Western countries. Of course, this does not at all diminish the role of the Russian Federation in the eastern region, but the "concentration" on only one partner inevitably leads to, first of all, the dictate of a more powerful country; and second, eventually, to the loss of independence, because Russia has economic relations with practically all the international community. Belarus, which is no longer perceived as an independent state by anyone in the world, can now serve as a relevant example.

Hence, if Boris Yeltsin wins in Russian presidential elections, the CIS will continue to exist and will even bolster its activities on the wave of euphoria from the victory of "their" candidate. (We want to remind you that Boris Yeltsin is also the CIS chairman until the end of 1996.) But centrifugal forces which are currently becoming ever stronger will inevitably lead to the collapse of the CIS. Eventually, it will be more and more difficult for Russia to keep its influence over the countries that are striving to, first of all, integrate into the world community and to become its full-fledged members. Statements by certain political leaders to the effect that the peoples are striving to reestablish the USSR look more and more like an overreaction on the part of these politicians: The winds of change turned out to be too fresh to force someone to strive to replace it by the stuffiness of the former "prison for the peoples."

### Ukraine: Marchuk, Black Sea Fleet Chief Discuss Sevastopol Status

*LD2405201296 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1904 GMT 24 May 96*

[By Lev Ryabchikov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] SIMFEROPOL, May 24 (Itar-Tass) — Sevastopol remains the home base for the

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Russian Black Sea Fleet only on certain conditions and for a certain time, Ukrainian Prime Minister Yevgeniy Marchuk said on Friday emerging from his meeting with the fleet's commander Admiral Viktor Kravchenko.

The third party to the meeting was Vladimir Bezkorovayny, the commander of the Ukrainian navy.

An hour-long talk on the division of the Black Sea Fleet between Russia and Ukraine was held at the Belbek airfield outside Sevastopol.

"In fact all the issues over the Black Sea Fleet have been discussed at the negotiations between Russia and Ukraine," Marchuk said.

He said further handling of remaining issues was "routine, not very romantic, with the pencil in the hand (and) on maps."

Asked about the status of Sevastopol, Marchuk said Sevastopol is not the city symbol of Russia's military valour but also of "Ukrainian, Belarusian, of our entire people," and this should determine its status.

Marchuk travelled on from Sevastopol to Yalta, the Crimean seaside resort, to attend a meeting on prospects of Crimean health resorts.

**Russia: Marchuk: Russian-Ukrainian Treaty Ready To Be Signed**

*LD2505205496 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1430 GMT 25 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Simferopol — The Russian and Ukrainian prime ministers agreed at their recent meeting that the political treaty between their two countries was ready to be signed by the presidents, Ukrainian Prime Minister Yevhen Marchuk revealed at a news conference on 25 May. He reiterated, however, that the Russian side linked the signing of the treaty to a settlement on the Black Sea Fleet.

Marchuk said that the Black Sea Fleet issue had become a political one and the final solution "would be political, determined by politicians, that is, the Russian and Ukrainian presidents, rather than the military."

**Ukraine: Shmarov Says Navy Will Not Be Withdrawn From Sevastopol**

*LD2705170996 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1445 GMT 27 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev [no date as received] — "A compromise between Kiev and Moscow on the Black Sea Fleet is possible only if the two fleets are jointly deployed in Sevastopol," Ukrainian Minister of Defense Valeriy Shmarov told a news conference. He stressed that Ukrainian officials were not considering the Ukrainian Navy's withdrawal from the city.

"We have proposed several options regarding technical facilities for the Russian fleet's temporary deployment, which would also suit the Ukrainian Navy, provided the two are separately accommodated but, at the same time, jointly deployed in Sevastopol," Shmarov said.

The defense minister warned that if a solution was not found in the next year or two, "the fleet would cease to exist, and we would be faced with yet another problem: How to recycle the Black Sea Fleet, jointly or separately." He said Ukraine did not agree to redeploy its fleet to Donuzlav because the town lacked the administrative and social infrastructure to ensure the fleet's normal functioning and maintain its fighting efficiency.

**Ukraine: Delegation to Cuba Discusses Relations**

*LD2405151396 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1213 GMT 24 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kiev, May 24 (Interfax-Ukraine) — Ukraine wants to develop bilateral relations with Cuba in various fields on the basis of principle of international laws, Ukrainian presidential administration chief Dmyto Tabachnyk told Cuban Foreign Minister Robaina Gonzalez in Havana Thursday [24 May].

Dmytro Tabachnyk is leading a Ukrainian delegation, whose visit to Cuba started on May 23.

The head of the presidential administration underscored Ukraine's wish to develop cooperation with Central and South American states, as well as with Non-Alignment Movement and the Association of Caribbean States, where Cuba is playing a leading role, presidential administration press service said.

At his meeting with Secretary of the Council of State J. Miyar Baruecos, Tabachnyk stressed that appropriate legal-contractual base has been created for the development of bilateral cooperation.

Among the Ukrainian delegation are Security Service Chief Volodymyr Radchenko, First Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade Ihor Podolev and First Deputy Health Minister Andriy Serdiuk.

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**Ukraine: Plans for Investments in Cuban Tourist Complex Reported**

*WS2805080996 Lvov INFOBANK in English 0646 GMT 28 May 96*

[From the "News Service" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Havana — Sources in Ukraine's Foreign Affairs Ministry have told INFOBANK that on May 27 the head of Ukraine's presidential administration, Dmytro Tabachnyk, held talks with representatives of Cuba's Foreign Affairs and Tourism Ministries regarding possible Ukrainian investments in the construction of tourist complexes in Cuba. Mr. Tabachnyk was interested in the Cuban Republic's investment legislation and the division of profits at different stages of investment. He visited several tourist complexes in the Cuban province of Matenzas.

## National Affairs

**Ukraine: Kuchma Signs Decree on Marchuk Resignation**

*LD2705145496 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1425 GMT 27 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev — Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma signed a decree on the resignation of Ukrainian Prime Minister Yevhen Marchuk.

The text of the decree has not yet been made available to the mass media but the existence of such a decree is confirmed by persons close to Marchuk. First Vice Premier Pavlo Lazarenko will act as prime minister.

Some vice premiers believe that the decision on the resignation was prompted by the lack of coordination and compliance between the economic policy declared by the president and the one implemented by the government. The differences between the president's policies and team and those of the prime minister have recently received publicity (see Marchuk's interview with the daily ZERKALO NEDELI of 18 May 1996, in which he said "I do not rule out possible attempts to use the government as a trade-off in the political game. Although I think that this time these attempts will not succeed".)

Experts believe that Marchuk may soon become head of the Ukrainian Supreme Council.

According to the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers' press service, Marchuk submitted his resignation himself at a meeting of the Presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet. The president has satisfied his application.

**Ukraine: Kuchma's Reasons for Dismissing Prime Minister Marchuk**

*LD2705150896 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1400 GMT 27 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Kiev — Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma has announced his intention to dismiss Prime Minister Yevheniy Marchuk. The president made the announcement on 27 May at a meeting with his administration which discussed socioeconomic issues.

According to presidential administration sources, the reason given for Marchuk's resignation was the delay in the payment of wage arrears.

The president is meeting Supreme Council [parliament] faction leaders at 1900 [1600 GMT], one of the faction leaders told UNIAN. He said they would discuss the prime minister's resignation among other issues. [passage omitted]

**Ukraine: Marchuk Now 'Most Serious Rival' to Kuchma**

*LD2705152396 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1444 GMT 27 May 96*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Mikhail Melnik]

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev, 27 May — Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma today signed a decree on the resignation of Prime Minister Yevhen Marchuk. An ITAR-TASS correspondent was told this by a well-informed source in the head of state's administration. He did not indicate the reason for the resignation.

Yevhen Marchuk had been head of government for nearly one year. He was for many people linked with the implementation of the tough economic policy proposed by the president. There were no serious contradictions between him and the head of state on this issue. Only once did Yevhen Marchuk openly criticize the president — for the "unspecific nature of the article on the prime minister in the draft of the new constitution." He said he did not agree with the role of "coordinator of executive power and would resign." Soon afterward the article was amended "in favor of the head of government."

Observers believe that Yevhen Marchuk has now become the most serious rival to Leonid Kuchma on the political Olympus of Ukraine. His rating is not inferior to the president's and is sometimes higher.

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**Ukraine: Marchuk Refuses Comment on Resignation**

*LD2805113796 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1056 GMT 28 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] KIEV, May 28 (Interfax-Ukraine) — Former Ukrainian Prime Minister Yevheniy Marchuk said he would not comment publicly on his May 27 removal, but said it was President Leonid Kuchma's right to remove him.

Marchuk told journalists Tuesday he would not discuss the firing because he "understands how tense and difficult the socioeconomic position in the country is today."

He said, however, that "history and time will put everything in place."

Any attempts to place the entire blame for the country's economic situation on him will fail, he said. "That would be the easiest answer, if the situation we have was rooted in the prime minister," he said. "But the historical roots and causes are significantly deeper."

Marchuk, a member of parliament, said that "if the authorities do not start feeling immense responsibility for the current situation, Ukraine will spend a long time scrambling out of poverty."

This situation will pass, though, and Ukraine "will become an example for politicians and historians of how to get out of a difficult crisis," Marchuk said.

Marchuk was removed from the post he had held since June 1995 by presidential order "so that he can carry out his parliamentary duties on a permanent basis."

**Ukraine: Marchuk's Resignation Said Connected With Referendum**

*LD2705154696 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1400 GMT 27 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev — The differences between President Leonid Kuchma and Prime Minister Yevhen Marchuk became apparent after Marchuk's statement that Ukraine's new constitution should be adopted by the parliament, while a referendum should be resorted to in an emergency, said Mykola Tomenko, director of the Institute of Postcommunist Society, speaking to a news conference today. He recalled that the Ukrayinska Perspektyva Foundation, of which he is president, predicted that "Yevhen Marchuk would leave the office of prime minister".

"The prime minister will be shown who he is up against," Tomenko said.

**Ukraine: Marchuk Fired Due to Shortcomings in Performance of Cabinet**

*LD2705182496 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1706 GMT 27 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kiev, May 27 (Interfax - Ukraine) — Yevheniy Marchuk has been sacked from the office of Ukrainian Prime Minister because of a number of serious shortcomings in the performance of the Cabinet, says the statement by the presidential press-service faxed to IF-U.

"Structural reforms have practically not been launched in the country, which has precipitated a growing payments crisis," says the statement.

Despite the repeated instructions from the President and the possibilities for prompt maneuvering in the use of budgetary sources, they are more and more often than not channeled not to primary objectives, while social backup continues picking up and has reached 65.6 trillion krb [karbovanets] by the consolidated budget, the statement says.

The cause behind these and other negative phenomena, "is the low effectiveness of the Cabinet." Thus, in particular, "there has been a delay in the adoption of emergency measures with efficient procedure for their implementation, the decisions made are not executed, many of them being of a declarative character." The statement cites as an example the situation in the coal industry, by which appropriate decisions have been taken several times, but none of them has been implemented, while the industry is paralyzed, as a matter of fact.

"Budgetary discipline stands no criticism," the statement also notes. The Government, the statement says, does not forecast the economic developments, but trails mostly behind them and takes decisions in many cases by their consequences.

The presidential press-service notes that the Government has failed to start effective cooperation with Verkhovna Rada [Supreme Council] and draft bills which are to be taken on a priority basis."

The press-service also points out the organizational structure of the Cabinet, which has "remained unchanged" and is not oriented towards implementing market reforms as well as growing red tape, procrastination in the passage of projects and the adoption of decisions.

"These as well as many other negative phenomena and trends in the Cabinet activities have become possible because Premier Marchuk has failed, as the situation necessitates an effective and stable functioning of the Government, and, recently, instead of day-to-day routine

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work to ensure its activities, concentrated his efforts on building his own political image," the President's decision was announced at the extraordinary Cabinet meeting in the morning today and was supported by all the Cabinet members attending the meeting.

**Ukraine: Rukh Leader Welcomes Marchuk's Dismissal**

*LD2705181596 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1645 GMT 27 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev — Vyacheslav Chornovil, Ukrainian People's Movement [Rukh] leader, accused Yevhen Marchuk of being "incapable of implementing reforms in the country" and "representing the system of command administration."

"This man cannot lead the government now," he said, adding that "the differences between the president and prime minister should have been settled in a narrow circle, without taking them into the press."

The Rukh leader was "surprised" that, during his one year in office, Marchuk had "made no steps to develop understanding with Ukraine's democratic forces." The prime minister "did not work hard enough with regional executives and did not seek allies among them," Chornovil added.

**Ukraine: Deputy Premier Yemets Welcomes Marchuk Resignation**

*LD2705171396 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1645 GMT 27 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev — Ukrainian Deputy Prime Minister Oleksandr Yemets today welcomed Prime Minister Marchuk's resignation. He told UNIAN: "Once the government has a program it should be implemented. This resignation will have a positive effect on the degree of consensus within the government."

He noted that it is "unacceptable for a subordinate to settle scores with his boss in the media." Marchuk's transfer to full-time work in parliament will "show the president's determination with regard to the adoption of the constitution," Yemets said.

**Ukraine: Miners Call Off March to Kiev After Premier's Dismissal**

*LD2805105196 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 0800 GMT 28 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Donetsk, 28 May — The departure of miners' delegations to Kiev to picket the Cabinet of Ministers and the presidential administration, which was scheduled for today, has been cancelled according to Ihor Strelchenko, head of the organizational department at the Donetsk branch of the Union of Coal Industry Employees. He said the change of plans was due to the dismissal of Prime Minister Yevhen Marchuk.

Strelchenko added it is now uncertain that the Cabinet will go ahead with the planned meeting on coal industry problems which was scheduled for 30 May.

According to the Donetsk branch, other branches of the Union of Coal Industry Employees and miners organizations made the same decision.

In Donetsk today, coal workers remained on strike at the Pravda Newspaper mining directorate and the Kalinin mine.

**Ukraine: Presidential Press Service Statement on Marchuk Dismissal**

*LD2705194396 Kiev UT-1 Television Network in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 27 May 96*

[No video available]

[FBIS Translated Text] We have received the following statement from the Ukrainian president's press service.

The president of Ukraine today called an emergency meeting of the Cabinet of Ministers in view of an urgent need to assess the current socioeconomic situation and the efficiency of government actions in crisis conditions.

Leonid Kuchma stated that, despite some positive results in the field of financial stabilization, the state of the economy was deteriorating and social tension was rising. The process of structural reform virtually failed to get off the ground, leading to a mounting payment crisis. Long delays in the payment of wages, pensions, student grants, cash allowances, and other welfare payments and benefits are causing justified discontent.

Despite numerous instructions from the president and the existing room for maneuver in the use of budget funds, these were often spent on matters of secondary priority, while the payment arrears continued to increase, reaching a total of 65.6 trillion karbovantsi.

The root of these and other negative developments does not lie only in the sphere of transitional difficulties and the complex, time-consuming nature of economic reforms. Primarily, they are caused by the poor efficiency of the Cabinet of Ministers that has been slow in making urgent decisions with clear procedures for their implementation. Existing resolutions are not being implemented, and many of them are merely declarative. A vivid example is the fact that the Cabinet examined the state of the coal industry four times in the course of six months, making appropriate decisions, none of which

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was carried out while the sector came to a virtual standstill.

The budget discipline does not withhold criticism, either. The government fails to forecast economic developments, but rather follows in their wake, making decisions in most cases on the basis of their results. Virtually no work is being done to preempt economic and social problems. No effective cooperation has been established with the Supreme Council in the drafting of priority legislation. The Cabinet's organizational structure has remained virtually unchanged, totally unsuited to implementing market reforms. Red tape has increased considerably, and the approval of projects and decisions is subject to long delays. There is almost no personal accountability for the implementation of decisions made and for any failures involving serious social consequences.

These and many other negative developments and trends in the Cabinet's activity became possible because Prime Minister Yevhen Marchuk failed to ensure efficient and stable government performance as required by the situation. Instead of attending to the day-to-day work to organize its activities, he lately concentrated on creating his own political image.

The president of Ukraine dismissed Yevhen Marchuk from the post of prime minister in connection with his full-time engagement in the activities and duties of a people's deputy. The Ukrainian president's decision was supported by all members of the Cabinet present at the meeting.

**Ukraine: Regional Governors Nominate Lazarenko as New Prime Minister**

*LD2705201596 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 27 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] This evening President Leonid Kuchma met heads of regional state administrations to inform them of his decree [on Prime Minister Yevheniy Marchuk's dismissal]. [passage omitted]

The heads of regional state administrations discussed reforms in the government. They expressed dissatisfaction with the style and organization of economic management in the Cabinet of Ministers and nominated their candidate for the new head of government. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified speaker] We discussed not only the prime minister but the style of the cabinet's work on the whole, which cannot satisfy regional leaders. We believe that a number of cabinet members should be replaced.

I, for one, nominated [First Deputy Prime Minister] Pavlo Ivanovych Lazarenko, whom I have known for many years in Dnepropetrovsk and, later, as first deputy prime minister. At the moment, time is too important to be wasted on training somebody for this post. And it would be logically consistent for the first deputy prime minister to become prime minister. We all got the impression that the president agreed with the regions' proposal, or may be it coincided with the president's previous intentions, because we heard only one nomination — although, I repeat, we discussed a wider range of problems, beyond the figure of prime minister. We were talking about establishing strict order in the executive structure to ensure its interaction with the regions so as to avoid the troubles that lie ahead. I think Pavlo Ivanovych [Lazarenko] is quite capable of restructuring the Cabinet of Ministers and establishing order in this field.

**Ukraine: President Kuchma Appoints New Prime Minister**

*LD2805090196 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 0745 GMT 28 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev — On 28 May 1996, Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma issued two decrees releasing Pavlo Lazarenko from the post of first deputy prime minister and appointing him as prime minister of Ukraine.

**Ukraine: ITAR-TASS Profiles New Prime Minister**

*LD2805094696 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0840 GMT 28 May 96*

[By Raisa Stetsyura]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] KIEV May 28 (Itar-Tass) — Pavlo Lazarenko was appointed Ukrainian Prime Minister today. He held the post of First Deputy Prime Minister earlier. His candidature was proposed at a conference of the Council of Regions at the Ukrainian President on Monday. Heads of groups in the Ukrainian parliament declared for his appointment at the extraordinary meeting held late on Monday evening at the presidential council.

On the same day the President relieved Prime Minister Yevhen Marchuk of his duties in connection with the fact that he acts as a people's deputy on a permanent basis.

Pavlo Lazarenko was born in January 1953 in the Dnepropetrovsk region. He graduated from the Dnepropetrovsk agricultural institute and is an agronomist by education. The people's deputy of the present and previous convocations of the Ukrainian parliament, Lazarenko, prior to his appointment to the post of first Deputy Prime

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Minister, headed the Dnepropetrovsk regional Council of people's deputies and was representative of the Ukrainian President in the Dnepropetrovsk region.

Pavlo Lazarenko is married, with three children.

**Ukraine: Kuchma Holds 'Extraordinary' Cabinet Meeting**

*WS2805071796 Kiev INTELNEWS in English 0114 GMT 28 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] [no dateline as received] Today, on May 27, the President of Ukraine conducted an extraordinary session of the Cabinet of Ministers, caused by the urgent necessity to assess the present social-economic situation and adequacy of the Government's actions in the crisis conditions.

Kuchma said, despite individual positive results in the sphere of financial stabilization, the state of the economy is being worsened and social tension is being strengthened.

The process of structural reforms hasn't been practically started and this has resulted in the growing payment crisis.

Long delays with paying off wages, pensions, stipends, cash allowances and other social payments and aid cause fair indignation.

In spite of the repeated instructions of the President and available possibilities for an operative maneuver while spending budget costs, they were allocated often for non-primary targets while the debt on social payments continues to grow and totaled KBV65.6 trillion in the consolidated budget.

Reasons for the above and other negative phenomena lay not only in the plane of difficulties of the transitional period, the entanglements and duration of economic changes.

Mainly, they are conditioned by the low efficiency of the Cabinet of Ministers activity. Passing of urgent decisions with a clear mechanism of their implementation is being postponed. Available documents aren't being executed, a lot of them have declarative character. A vivid example: throughout half the year the state of affairs in the coal industry was considered four times and appropriate decisions were taken. But not a single decision has been carried out. The work of the branch is actually paralyzed.

Budget discipline is beneath criticism. The government doesn't forecast the development of economic processes but follows them, often passing decisions in their aftermath. Practically speaking, the work on the advanced resolution of economic and social problems isn't carried out.

An effective interaction with Parliament of Ukraine on drawing up draft laws, subject to primary passing, hasn't been put right.

The organizational structure of the Cabinet of Ministers has practically remained the same and it isn't oriented at all to the introduction of market reforms. Red tape has increased, personal responsibility for the execution of passed documents and defaults which have serious social consequences, is practically absent.

All these and many other negative happenings and tendencies in the activity of the Cabinet of Ministers became possible due to the fact that Prime Minister Yevhen Marchuk hasn't secured effective and stable functioning of the government as the situation demands. Recently, instead of routine rough work targeting the organization of its activity, Marchuk concentrated his strengths on creating a political image of his own.

The President of Ukraine fired Marchuk from the post of the Prime Minister of Ukraine due to fulfillment by him of the functions and proxies of Parliament deputy of Ukraine on a permanent basis.

The decision of the President was supported by all attendees of the Government's session.

**Ukraine: Parliament Debates Constitution**

*LD2805091196 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 0800 GMT 28 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev, 28 May — The Supreme Council has begun a session, attended by President Leonid Kuchma and the entire cabinet. A total of 358 deputies are present. Mykhaylo Syrota, chairman of the parliament's ad-hoc commission to finalize the draft constitution, is presenting the draft.

On 27 May the commission approved a debate procedure, according to which the Supreme Council will be asked to approve the draft constitution today in the first reading. The ad-hoc commission will be instructed to amend it for the second reading, which will take place at a date to be set by parliament as soon as the draft is passed in the first reading.

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## Belarus

### Belarus: Treaty Ratified on Broader Integration With 3 CIS States

*LD2405163496 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1604 GMT 24 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MINSK, May 24 (Interfax-West) — The Belarusian parliament voted 116 to 3 Friday to ratify a treaty on broader economic and social integration between Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Russia. There are a total of 200 deputies in the parliament.

The deputies upheld the treaty only with certain reservations, Anatoliy Lebedko, deputy head of the parliamentary International Affairs Commission, told Interfax.

In particular, they proposed to introduce a reservation in the treaty's provision on joint guarding of outer borders, saying that for Belarus the outer border is the border with neighboring countries, which would rule out the use of Belarusian border troops or the army outside of its national territory, in accordance with Belarusian law.

The deputies insisted that resolutions of the group's ruling body will serve only as recommendations for Belarus.

### Belarus: Parliament Ratifies Integration Treaty With Reservations

*LD2405193796 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1804 GMT 24 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MINSK, May 24 (Itar-Tass) — The parliament of Belarus today ratified the Agreement on deepening integration in the economic and humanitarian fields signed with Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Russia in Moscow on March 29, 1996.

The parliament, however, voted on three reservations as a condition for the ratification. The first one concerns Article 2 of the Agreement which provides for the use of the Belarusian Armed Forces in the protection of the borders of the signatory countries. The parliament said such use beyond the boundaries of Belarus was permissible only after approval by the republic's supreme legislature adopted on a case-to-case basis.

Another reservation says that the Republic of Belarus will grant citizenship to nationals of the signatory countries in strict conformity with its national legislation, which does not allow double citizenship.

A third reservation concerns Article 24 of the Agreement. The Belarusian parliament stipulated that the decisions of the Inter-State Council subject to incorporation in national legislation of each signatory country are not mandatory but only advisory in character for the parliament of Belarus which, under the Constitution, is the only law-making body of the Republic.

### Belarus: Syanko Meets Ukrainian Deputy Foreign Minister

*WS2805100496 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0700 GMT 28 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] A meeting of Belarusian Foreign Minister Uladzimir Syanko with Ukrainian Deputy Foreign Minister Kostyantyn Hryshchenko was devoted to the deepening of political dialogue between Belarus and Ukraine, as well as to the search for ways to expand economic cooperation between the neighboring countries. The sides concurred in the opinion that such consultations must be held more often, because a number of domestic and foreign tasks urges one to look for common ways to resolve them.

### Belarus: Lukashenka To Take More Action to Maintain Law, Order

*LD2405194996 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1639 GMT 24 May 96*

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] President Lukashenka has described the current situation in Belarus as complicated. As he addressed participants in a seminar of the country's senior officials, President Lukashenka blamed it on "gambling by radical nationalists," who got particularly angry after losing the parliamentary election (in this year's four rounds of voting not a single representative of the Belarussian Popular Front was elected to parliament. - IF).

"Their political gambling has faded away and their future entirely depends on Western patrons," Lukashenka said. He says that the nationalist Opposition lives by one principle: the worse for the country, the better for them, and that the April 26 events in Minsk were evidence of that.

IF Note: Belarussian Popular Front supporters on that day held an unauthorized march timed for the 10th anniversary of the Chernobyl nuclear power plant disaster. In clashes between demonstrators and police about 50 people were injured on both sides. Several dozen marchers were taken to administrative account. Two Belarussian citizens and seven Ukrainian citizens representing the ultra-right organization UNA-UNSO [Ukrainian National Assembly- National Defense] were charged by the Prosecutor General's office. Under Belarussian laws they may face prison terms of one to three years.

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President Lukashenka said he did not look for enemies or tried to score political points by using current contradictions. He is certain that decent authority can be earned only by deeds.

Lukashenka said that he was surprised by Boris Yeltsin's statement in Omsk that about 40 participants in a demonstration were arrested on April 26. Lukashenka said he had never discussed the subject with President Yeltsin and speculated that the Russian President had not been properly informed about the incident in Minsk.

Lukashenka described as inappropriate reports by Western mass media about the expulsion of representatives of the independent Polish trade union Solidarity from Belarus on May 14.

Lukashenka said that the attempt to hold an unauthorized rally on that day was not the first one by the Polish visitors. The visit of the trade unionists' delegation was reduced after several official warnings that such unlawful actions were impermissible.

Lukashenka said that he would stick to a hard line in enforcing law and order in the country. "Those who try to destabilize the political situation in the country will not go unpunished," he said.

About Belarussian foreign policy Lukashenka said there was no bias and that his country had not deviated from the idea of equitable relations with the West and with the East.

Lukashenka said that Belarus under any circumstances would honor its duties of Russia's ally by guarding the border in the West and promised that hostile planes and tanks would have no passage through Belarus to Russia.

The Belarussian president said that ideological support was the weakest point of effecting his domestic policy. "The head of state does not have the powerful propaganda machinery of the Communist Party era. Nor has he a strong press-service or press-secretary. Skilled journalists fully dedicated to their land are rare in Belarus these days," Lukashenka said.

He also pointed to personnel problems in executive bodies of government. He said that candidates who would dedicate themselves to their job and won't plunge into politics head-on were being looked for to fill those vacancies.

Politics would be his administration's business, Lukashenka said.

He complained that after two years of his presidency he still felt resistance from the old-time personnel, who are uncertain about the president's success, sit on the fence and are in no hurry to implement the official policy twice approved by the people (in the presidential election in August 1994 and in the referendum in May 1995. - IF).

At the same time President Lukashenka said he was certain that the country would be run by professionals and the people would not let adventurers seize power.

Lukashenka described the control of inflation as a tangible success of the government's economic policy. Lukashenka said that last month's inflation was 1.5 percent and even that figure was artificial, because the government had intentionally agreed to raising the prices of certain goods.

Lukashenka noted the favorable trend in production growth from month to month, which would let achieve the indices of the end of last year by July. Lukashenka noted problems with the growing amount of unsold products in stock and the negative foreign trade balance.

President Lukashenka said he was concerned about the falling profitability of production and lower investment activity.

He instructed the cabinet to effect to the full plans for ensuring the protection of local producers and to submit to the president for approval a draft economic strategy.

**Belarus: Trade Union Official on Wage Arrears, Solutions**

*WS2805115596 Minsk ZVYAZDA in Belarusian 23 May 96 p 10*

[Interview with Frants Vitko, deputy chairman of the Belarusian Trade Union Federation, by Yawhen Rostikaw; place and date not given: "Trade Unions See the Way Out in Reform"]

[FBIS Translated Text] **Without any exaggeration, the current sorest problem in Belarus is delays in paying wages. On 13 May 1996, another measure to resolve this situation was taken: the president issued an edict envisaging a range of additional measures to ensure the timely paying of wages. How have direct initiators of this document — trade unions — taken this edict? In order to clarify this issue, our correspondent met with Frants Vitko, deputy chairman of the Belarusian Trade Union Federation.**

[Vitko] I will remind you that according to a presidential edict of 17 November 1995, a system to book wages [sistema braniravannya zarabotnay platy] was introduced at our enterprises. Its essence is the following: an enterprise that has wage arrears must use — in the first instance — its own means to pay the people wages to the tune of the subsistence minimum. By the way, this subsistence minimum stands today at 60 percent of

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the cost of the "consumer basket," that is, the subsistence minimum is some 625,000 rubles [R].

For some reason, however, several quite substantial issues have been "removed" from the 1995 edict. First of all, the 1996 edict does not consider wage rates coefficients (that is, additional payments for difficult labor conditions); second, the 1996 edict does not mention holiday pay and, finally, payments to the Social Protection Fund for pensions, sick leave, and so on.

Therefore, trade unions were forced to again initiate negotiations with the government, after which it satisfied our demands to book enterprises' means for the above-mentioned purposes.

[Rostikaw] But the basis for being optimistic is too unstable. In early May, our wage debts stood at R893 billion. The current situation is almost critical. Where do the trade unions see the way out?

[Vitko] Indeed, debts for wages have again increased and, correspondingly, the social temperature of society has also risen. Therefore, the president recently sent a telegram to the Belarusian Cabinet of Ministers and to the National Bank with a demand to settle wage debts — before 20 May — accumulated during the first quarter of 1996. I hope that this demand will be met. At the same time, it is understandable: such measures will never resolve problems in a cardinal way. True economic reforms are needed. Otherwise, we are running a risk to "consume" not only our working capital, but also our fixed capital.

[Rostikaw] You have mentioned that reforms are needed, but which ones specifically?

[Vitko] First of all, it is necessary — as soon as possible — to develop a strategy for our economic development which would include the modifications introduced in our tax system, as well as specify and support most promising and competitive — on the world market — sectors of production. For example, as regards geographical location, natural conditions, and previous specialization of Belarus, its priority trends could comprise transport, services, tourism, the food industry, production of flax, and correspondingly, the textile industry, radio and electronics, and so on.

Finally, a program to restructure our giants and to make them conglomerates made up of small enterprises must also be drafted. Because when suddenly one such enterprise goes bankrupt, losses for the entire Belarusian economy will be insignificant, whereas the bankruptcy of a giant could lead us to a general crisis.

In a word, there is the way out. All of us must look for it.

## Moldova

### Moldova: Dniester Parliament Head Advocates Integration With Russia

*AU2705204396 Chisinau INFOTAG in English 2020 GMT 24 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Chisinau, May 24 (INFOTAG) — The chairman of the Supreme Soviet (parliament) in the self-styled Dniester Republic, Grigore Maracuta, believes the acute economic crisis Dniester is in at present can only be overcome through integration with the Russian Federation.

Speaking before his electorate in the village of Teia on Thursday, Maracuta stated that Dniester is an exporting region, and its chief buyers and partners are in Russia. It is also from Russia that the separatist republic purchases fuels and raw materials. He expressed hope that after the Russian presidential elections (June 16) these integration processes will be intensified, which, in his view, would favorably influence the Dniester conflict settlement.

Maracuta stressed, Tiraspol is not refusing to negotiate with Chisinau, but "in recent months, the talks have been slack, because Moldova has been evading previous accords." Nonetheless, the negotiations will be continued, he said. For that purpose, the Dniester Parliament has set up a special commission headed by deputy Vitaliy Glebov who will be in charge of contacting with the Moldovan legislature and speeding up the conflict settlement process.

As INFOTAG has come to know, on Saturday a Tiraspol parliamentary delegation is supposed to come to Chisinau in order to have a first meeting with Moldovan deputies. The information has been confirmed in the Parliament. The Moldovan side will be represented by Deputy Speaker Dumitru Motpan and spokesmen of factions.

### Moldova: Moldavian, Dneister Parliaments Support Talks To End Conflict

*LD2605093796 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0800 GMT 26 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Moldavian and Dneister parliamentarians have gone along with talks between the supreme leadership of Chisinau and Tiraspol on a settlement to the Dneister conflict. A joint communique on the results of the meeting notes that the deputies intend to create conditions for a full settlement to this confrontation, and to this end, are prepared through their legislative bodies to assist in exerting influence on the supreme leadership of the republics.

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**Moldova: Romanian Senators Seek Special Relationship With Moldova**

*LD2405193096 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1654 GMT 24 May 96*

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] CHISINAU, May 24 (Interfax) — Irrespectively of what the drafted treaty on friendship and cooperation between Moldova and Romania says, Chisinau and Bucharest must enjoy a special relationship, Romanian Senator Dumitru Mocanu told a news conference in Chisinau Thursday, on the results of a two-day visit to Moldova by a delegation of the Romanian Senate Foreign Policy Commission.

He said the two countries share common language, traditions and culture, that is why they must establish a special relationship. He recalled that Romania was among the first countries to recognize Moldova's independence and has no territorial claims to it.

According to the Romanian Senate delegation, Chisinau and Bucharest have already agreed on 95 percent of the draft treaty on friendship and cooperation but differ on issues relating to economic and spiritual integration.

Since the Moldovan parliament does not recognize the identical nature of the Moldovan and Romanian languages, a compromise must be found on this issue, said the Romanian senators.

Tudor Angheli, deputy head of the Moldovan parliamentary Foreign Policy Commission, said serious differences remain over Romania's demands that the treaty condemn the consequences of the Soviet-German nonaggression pact of 1939.

"We cannot be responsible for history. I believe that we will be able to overcome differences on the issue, perhaps by passing a special statement on the pact," said Angheli.

**Moldova: Moldova Protests Transit of Nuclear Fuel for Bulgaria**

*LD2305212396 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1156 GMT 23 May 96*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[FBIS Translated Text] Chisinau, 23 May — Moldova's department for environmental protection voiced its protest today against the transit across its territory of the Russian nuclear fuel intended for the nuclear power station in Kozloduy, Bulgaria, unless additional safety guarantees have been made.

Director of the department Sergiu Fondofan told newsmen today that his department would insist on compulsory monitoring of the condition of the freight while on the Moldovan territory.

Five railway carriages carrying the Russian nuclear fuel are due to travel across Moldova and Romania into Bulgaria at the end of 1996. Bulgarian department for power engineering asked the Moldovan government for a transit permission for the freight. The current Moldovan law on environmental protection does not contain provisions for transit of nuclear fuel across the country, Fondofan said.

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## Kazakhstan

**Kazakhstan: Nazarbayev Leaves for Trip to Malaysia, Singapore**

*LD2505210396 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2001 GMT 25 May 96*

[By Vladimir Akimov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] ALMATY, May 25 (Itar-Tass) — Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev left for Malaysia on an official visit on Saturday.

The visit is expected to expand bilateral economic, trade, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation between the two countries, presidential spokesman Dulat Kuanyshev told journalists before departure.

The two sides will also sign agreements to avoid double taxation, establish consular and inter-bank relations and launch direct air service between the capital cities of the two countries.

During his three-day visit, Nazarbayev will have talks with Malaysian top officials, visit the Proton automobile plant's national economic planning centre and meet local business people.

From Malaysia, Nazarbayev is scheduled to fly to Singapore to invigorate trade and economic ties between the two countries.

**Kazakhstan: Nazarbayev Meets Malaysian Ruler; Bilateral Accords Signed**

*LD2805091996 Almaty Kazakh Television First Program Network in 1400 GMT 27 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] A meeting between the president of Kazakhstan and Tuanku Ja'afar Abdul Rahman, paramount ruler of Malaysia, was held today within the framework of the official visit by President Nursultan Nazarbayev to Malaysia.

Nursultan Nazarbayev then met Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohamed. The talks held by the two delegation resulted in the signing of joint intergovernmental documents, trade agreements, and an agreement for mutual encouragement and protection of investments.

In the evening, the paramount ruler of Malaysia gave an official reception in honor of the president of Kazakhstan.

**Kazakhstan: China Accuses Government of Dumping Radioactive Waste**

*LD2405142596 Tashkent Radio Tashkent Network in Russian 1000 GMT 24 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] We are again attracting your attention to another piece of information about Kazakhstan.

The government of the People's Republic of China has issued a statement saying that 13 tonnes of radioactive waste were illegally exported to the Xinjiang-Uygur Autonomous Region from neighboring Kazakhstan and dumped there. The Chinese side reported that these chemical substances, which are harmful to people's health, were exported as scrap metal.

**Kazakhstan: Almaty Denies Exporting Radioactive Scrap Metal to PRC**

*LD2505190696 Almaty EKSPRESS in Russian 24 May 96 p 1*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] A spokesman for Kazakhstan's embassy in Beijing yesterday denied a report from the Xinjiang Uygur autonomous region (northwestern China), which borders on his country, that Kazakhstan has exported radioactive scrap metal to the People's Republic of China.

According to Chinese reports made public the previous day, in spring last year experts from the autonomous region's Environmental Control Department twice registered radioactivity in two consignments of ferrous and nonferrous metals from Kazakhstan weighing a total of 16 tonnes. [passage omitted]

**Kazakhstan: Oil Firm Seeks Bigger Shares Stake for Work Force**

*LD2505164696 Almaty KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 22 May 96 p 2*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Kzyl-Orda: Six years ago, 466,000 tonnes of oil were extracted at the Kumkol oil field in the southern part of the Turgay Depression, which is rich in oil and gas. Oil extraction grew by an average of 18.5 percent [per year] in the following years, and it reached 1.9 million tonnes last year. The sales profit of the leading enterprise was 41 percent, and the oil workers of the Yuzhneftegaz [Southern Oil and Gas] joint-stock company made a 2.6 billion tenge profit. Now the joint-stock company is to be privatized. What fate awaits Yuzhneftegaz? The president of the Yuzhneftegaz joint-stock company, Robert Urynbayevich Berdyguzhin, answers the questions of KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA.

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[KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA] Judging by the indices, can one say that economic storms are passing by the Kumkol fields?

[Berdyguzhin] It is not so, we are at the epicenter of these storms, because we are working for the domestic market and to some extent we are its victims. The work force possess only 10 percent of shares in the Yuzhneftegaz joint-stock company, and the rest of the shares belong to the state. For this reason we are obliged to take part in state programs that are unprofitable for us. [passage omitted]

[KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA] But this is a small loss for your enterprise, in view of the 2.6 billion tenge profit.

[Berdyguzhin] But this profit is being seized in all directions. For example, up until last year we were obliged to allocate oil products worth of 1.133 trillion tenge for the sowing campaign with deferment of payments. Out of this, we have not received more than 300 million tenge as yet. At the same time, the amount of taxes alone paid for the income not received amounted to more than 110 million tenge. This abnormality in market conditions has been repeated every year. Last year we supplied agricultural enterprises with oil products worth 600 million tenge under futures contracts. As of today, only half of this sum has been paid. In 1995, the portion of taxes for income not received was 472 million tenge, of which 68 million tenge we paid as a fine [for overdue payment]. Nothing has changed this year either. That is why, even with such a profit, we cannot pay wages to workers on time.

[KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA] Will it suit you to stay under state control?

[Berdyguzhin] The Yuzhneftegaz joint-stock company will be privatized under an individual project. We know that shares in the enterprise have been put up for a tender.

[KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA] How many shares?

[Berdyguzhin] We have not been informed about it. We do not even know who will participate in the tender, supposedly the Russian company LUKoil, maybe Canadians. There will be no lack of buyers. Yuzhneftegaz is a highly profitable and very promising enterprise. One can even say that it is a tasty morsel for many buyers.

When Kumkol is sold, its new owner is hardly likely do anything unprofitable, such as delivering output without payment. Many social programs will be abandoned, if not sooner then later, and the help that the oil workers provide to Kzyl-Orda town will naturally be reduced considerably. For example, we are maintaining a top-league football club, the AKMECHET [WHITE MOSQUE] newspaper, and helping a number of enterprises. All in all, more than 50 million tenge were spent for these purposes in 1995. Apart from this, the Yuzhneftegaz joint-stock company is a fundamental enterprise in the region and is a hope for the revival of the region's economy, which is closely bound up with the oil industry. In short, if a controlling package of shares is handed over to foreigners, there will be even more problems, which everyone will moreover face immediately: The government, the region, we ourselves, and probably the new owners.

[KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA] The Yuzhneftegaz joint-stock company is supposed to be privatized under an individual project. Could the Kumkol oil fields themselves be put under foreign management?

[Berdyguzhin] What for? Yuzhneftegaz's subdivisions have already earned 1.4 billion tenge in profit in the first quarter of this year, and the sales profit of oil was 47.3 percent, and the output profit was 98.8 percent. The organizational level of production is high enough, and all subdivisions are working smoothly. Who will want to disrupt this well-coordinated order. The government has enough troubles apart from this. Hundreds enterprises are standing idle, they primarily need help, including organizing production and management. Apart from this, the republic's oil workers are high quality. I am convinced that if even a Russian, Canadian, or any other firm became owner of Kumkol, nothing essential will change in the running of the oil fields. Even the staff will be the same; perhaps our wages will just rise.

[KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA] It seems that it will be good for the work force too if someone were to buy Yuzhneftegaz?

[Berdyguzhin] We prefer equal partnership, and I think that is the right we should have. Unfortunately, we cannot take part in the tender, but recently the employees of the joint-stock company have sent a letter to the government asking it to transfer an additional portion of shares in the enterprise to them. The request was supported by the head of the regional administration, too.

[KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA] What was their reply?

[Berdyguzhin] We have not received an answer yet. But we have not lost hope. The strategic aim of the president and government of the country is to make the people happy and well provided for. If the government offered 25 percent of shares in the enterprise to the over 4,000

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employees of Yuzhneftegaz with the option to buy, the government will not lose control of this strategically important enterprise, which supplies the republic with oil products, even if all the other shares were sold. And we will be able to fulfill our strategic programs, in particular the gas program. We are planning to build a gas-energy complex for southern Kazakhstan at Kumkol, which will supply the southern regions not only with gas, but also with power. Of course, this program will require major investments, but I think that we will find them.

**Kazakhstan: Communist Party Warned Against Defying Constitution**

*LD2405173296 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1448 GMT 24 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] ALMATY, May 24 (Interfax) — The Justice Ministry of Kazakhstan has warned the Kazakh Communist Party against defying the constitution and national legislation, Kazakh Justice Minister Konstantin Kolpakov told a news conference in Almaty on Friday [24 May].

Some provisions of the Communist Party's charter give "a sufficient reason for liquidating this public organization," he said. The Justice Ministry has emphasized the need to bring the Communist Party's documents in line with national legislation.

The Kazakh Communist Party's goal to return Kazakhstan to socialism contradicts the constitution, as does the party's tasks which include "passing political power over into the hands of workers" and re-unifying former Soviet republics, Kolpakov said.

The Kazakh prosecutor general earlier stressed that the Communist Party's charter fails to conform with the constitution. He also considered as unconstitutional the Communist Party's activity for holding unauthorized rallies calling for the denunciation of the 1991 Belovezhskaya Pushcha Accords that disbanded the USSR and founded the CIS. Such rallies were launched in several Kazakh cities on April 17.

If the Communist Party continues to violate legislation, the party's ruling organs may be fined and the party may be suspended for a period from three to six months, the Kazakh Justice Ministry told the Communist Party's central committee.

The Communist Party has branches in each of the 19 Kazakh regions, Kolpakov said.

The Kazakh Communist Party includes 48,000 members, a Communist Party leader, Serikbolsyl Abdildin, earlier told Interfax.

**Kazakhstan: Communists Ordered To Review Rules**

*LD2405184196 Almaty Kazakh Television First Program Network in Russian 1400 GMT 24 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The warning given by the Justice Ministry to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan about the need to observe the laws of the republic has been cause for another meeting of the minister of justice [Konstantin Kolpakov] with correspondents.

The Justice Ministry has so far registered 575 republican and regional public associations. Nine of them are political parties. The public associations form less than two percent of the overall number of legal entities. Konstantin Kolpakov did not remember a single case when the Justice Ministry had reacted negatively to the setting up of political parties and public associations. In his view, this is evidence that there is a sustainable democratic tendency in the country.

After considering the representation by the Prosecutor General's office on the illegal actions of the Communist Party, the Justice Ministry carried out a check and revealed a number of cases where the activities of the Communist Party had contradicted the Constitution. As a result, the leadership of the Communist Party has been instructed to bring its founding documents, in particular the party's regulations, in line with the requirements of current legislation. Otherwise the Communist Party's activity will be suspended and its Central Committee fined. [passage omitted]

## Kyrgyzstan

**Kyrgyzstan: Russian Federation Council Delegation Arrives in Bishkek**

*LD2605201996 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1934 GMT 26 May 96*

[By Lyudmila Yermakova]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, May 26 (Itar-Tass) — A delegation of the Federal Council (Russian parliament upper chamber) led by its speaker Yegor Stroyev arrived in the Kyrgyz capital Bishkek for an official visit on Sunday.

Russian legislators will hold a series of meetings with Kyrgyz leaders and will participate in a session of the Council of the Interparliamentary Assembly of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

The official visit programme will start on Monday with a meeting with Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev, the prime minister and the leaders of the republican bicameral parliament. Stroyev is also expected to address Kyrgyz

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parliamentarians. He is also planned to visit the Slav University and have a meeting with border guards.

The visiting session of the CIS Interparliamentary Assembly Council chaired by Stroyev will be held in Bishkek the next day. Such sessions are usually held in St. Petersburg, the headquarters of the Assembly.

Kyrgyz lawmakers invited this time their counterparts in the Interparliamentary Assembly to meet on the shore of Lake Issyk-Kul where major peace-making initiatives were repeatedly born, including the signing of the Bishkek protocol, as a result of which hostilities in Nagorno-Karabakh were ended two years ago.

Of major importance in choosing the venue for the event was the fact that "of late, Kyrgyzstan has been advancing good political and peacekeeping initiatives, the situation here is characterized by peace and order which are lacking at other places," Stroyev told journalists at the airport.

According to Stroyev, the main item on the session's agenda will be the work aimed at signing of a four-lateral treaty on the creation of supra-parliamentary union of Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Russia in accordance with the agreement between the four sides.

The Council has taken the course of deepening interparliamentary ties and the step to be taken in this direction in Bishkek is of vital importance, Stroyev said.

In response to the question of the possible outcome of the presidential elections to be held on June 16 in Russia, Stroyev said that "reforms are bound to win in Russia. This is a historically chosen way and there will be no other."

**Kyrgyzstan: Fed Council Speaker Praises Russian-Kyrgyz Rapprochement**

*LD2705105396 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1024 GMT 27 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] BISHKEK, May 27 (Interfax) - Increasingly close relations between Russia and Kyrgyzstan opens up vast economic opportunities and corresponds to national security of the two states and geopolitical stability of the region, Yegor Stroyev, chairman of the Federation Council, told Kyrgyz parliament deputies in Bishkek today.

Stroyev heads a delegation of the Federation Council, Russia's upper chamber, which arrived in Bishkek on May 26 on a four-day official visit.

We have much more things in common than possible differences, said Stroyev. Over 60 agreements have been signed to develop the bilateral treaty on mutual assistance of June 10, 1992, he noted.

"Military-political cooperation and joint efforts to consolidate security in Central Asia have a special place in bilateral relations," said the parliament deputy.

"Attention of the Kyrgyz president and parliament to problems of Russian-speaking residents of the republic is a far-sighted policy which corresponds to the interests of harmonious and stable development of Kyrgyzstan," said Stroyev. He praised the opening of a Slav university in Bishkek, which offers Russian-language higher education, the official status of the Russian language in Kyrgyzstan, and an increased amount of Russian-language TV and radio broadcasts.

The Interparliament Committee of Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Russia, an agreement of which will be signed on May 28 in Bishkek, "is bound to play a key role in creation of a legal basis for quadripartite integration," said Stroyev. "The community of four will soon discuss its priorities," including common approaches in the policy on exchange rates of national currencies, a convention on tax policy, a concept of formation of the common agricultural market and a customs union.

Stroyev thinks that successful fulfillment of the Russian-Belarusian treaty and the quadripartite treaty on deeper integration will serve as a good example for other Commonwealth member-states.

Stroyev on Monday met President of Kyrgyzstan Askar Akayev, Prime Minister Apas Dzhumagulov, chairmen of both parliament chambers Almambet Matubraimov and Mukar Cholponbayev. "Kyrgyzstan favors consolidated community of the four states," Akayev told Stroyev.

Bearing in mind the official status recently given to the Russian language, corresponding amendments will be introduced in the Kyrgyz Constitution, said Akayev.

**Kyrgyzstan: Akayev: Constitution Fix To Make Russian Official Language**

*LD2705172496 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1526 GMT 27 May 96*

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] President Askar Akayev told Yegor Stroyev, chairman of the Federation Council, the upper house of the Russian parliament, in Bishkek Monday [27 May] that the Kyrgyz constitution will be amended soon to make Russian an official language.

Akayev said that his country will work consistently for consolidation of the union of Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan in the framework of the CIS.

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Stroyev heads the Federation Council's delegation that arrived in Bishkek on May 26 for an official four-day visit. He will chair the CIS Interparliamentary Assembly Council meeting on May 28 in his capacity as the assembly chairman.

Stroyev told Kyrgyz MPs Monday that the Russian-Kyrgyz rapprochement "taps a large economic potential for the two countries and serves the interests of the national security and geopolitical stability in the region."

"We have more in common than what can separate us, drive us into opposing corners," he said. Over 60 agreements have been signed by the two countries as a follow up on the Mutual Aid Treaty of June 10, 1992, Stroyev said.

"The military political cooperation and joint activities in improving the security in Central Asia are of special importance in the bilateral relations," he continued.

The agreement on confidence building measures in the border areas signed in Shanghai by the leaders of Russia, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan and China is "the highlight of our cooperation, an example of its effectiveness," Stroyev said.

The Kyrgyz president and parliament pursue a far-sighted policy towards the Russian-speaking population of the country, he believed. Stroyev said that this policy was conducive, above all, to harmonic and stable development of Kyrgyzstan itself. The opening of a Slavonic University in Bishkek where education is in Russian, the official status given to the Russian language, the expansion of Russian TV and radio broadcasting are important steps in this direction.

The Interparliamentary Committee of Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Russia, an agreement on the setting up of which will be signed in Bishkek on May 28 "will have a major role to play in working out the legal framework for the process of integration of our countries," Stroyev said. The community of four will consider numerous vital issues shortly, such as development of common approaches to the setting up of an exchange rate between national currencies, a convention on the taxation policy, a concept of a common farming market and a customs union, he continued.

Stroyev was confident that a success of the Russian-Belarusian and the quadrilateral integration treaties will be a model for other CIS member nations.

Also Monday Akayev held talks in Bishkek with Mikhail Nikolayev, president of Yakutia, an internal Russian republic.

Akayev told journalists that Bishkek wants closer bilateral ties with Yakutia. He said that his relations with Nikolayev have been good ever since the time they were members of the USSR parliament.

Kyrgyzstan's Kadamzhai Works makes antimony from a concentrate supplied from Yakutia, Akayev said.

Kyrgyzstan wants to step up cooperation with Yakutia in the fields of agriculture and trade in farm good and Kyrgyzstan can supply equipment for production of technical diamonds to Yakutia he added, he added.

The Kyrgyz and Yakutian peoples are descendants of the same stock, he believes. What is going on now is a long-overdue meeting of "northern and southern Kyrgyz," Akayev said.

Nikolayev is scheduled to meet with Kyrgyz Prime Minister Apas Dzhumagulov and the chairman of the Kyrgyzaltyn state-owned gold mining concern on May 28. An intergovernmental agreement on the principles underlying the trade, economic, technological and cultural cooperation and a cooperation agreement between Kyrgyzaltyn and the Sakhakontrakt society are expected to be signed.

## Tajikistan

### Tajikistan: U.S. Delegation Arrives in Dushanbe in Search of MIA's

*LD2705104596 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1034 GMT 27 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] DUSHANBE, May 27 (Interfax) — A U.S. delegation is arriving in Tajikistan on Monday to look for American soldiers who were reported missing in action (MIA) during World War II and the Korean and Vietnam wars.

Tajik presidential spokesman Zafar Saydov told Interfax that the delegation, led by U.S. Ambassador Malcolm Toon, wants to appeal to the Tajik Government and population to provide information about American MIAs who may be living in the republic and who "might have been forced to live in former Soviet republics."

The delegation will also share information concerning Soviet soldiers reported missing during the war in Afghanistan.

On May 28, the delegation will meet with Tajik President Emomali Rakhmanov, Prime Minister Yahyo Azimov, Foreign Minister Talbak Nazarov, Defense Minister Sherali Khayrulloyev and Security Minister Saidanvar Kamolov, as well as chief archivist Zafar Dustmukhamedov.

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**Tajikistan: Opposition Radio Claims Uzbeks Cut Off Tajik Gas, Power**

*LD2805091596 (Clandestine) Voice of Free Tajikistan in Tajik 0600 GMT 27 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] [Tajikistan's Prime Minister Yahyo] Azimov visited Tashkent to discuss problems in current relations between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. This is the first official visit by Azimov to Uzbekistan [words indistinct].

As is known, [Tajik President Emomali] Rakhmanov, under the protection of Russia, condemned Uzbekistan for its actions against officials appointed by Rakhmanov in Leninabad region at the beginning of May. Rakhmanov complained to Russian President Boris Yeltsin at the CIS summit [in Moscow on 18 May] that the Uzbek president played a part in the latest events in Tajikistan.

Because of this criticism by Rakhmanov, Uzbekistan's officials cut off gas and electricity supplies and stopped Tajik transport from crossing the border with Uzbekistan.

**Tajikistan: Russian Border Guard Chief on Gorno-Badakhshan Region**

*LD2505134896 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1332 GMT 25 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] MOSCOW, May 25 (Interfax) - Russia's border guard chief said on Saturday the armed Tajik Islamic opposition had made Tajikistan's Gorno-Badakhshan region the destabilization center for the Central Asian country.

General of the Army Andrey Nikolayev, director of the Federal Border Guard Service, told reporters in Moscow that Russian border guards posted along the Gorno-Badakhshan stretch of Tajikistan's border with Afghanistan daily stopped short several attempts of either an armed breakthrough or drug contraband from Afghanistan.

Nikolayev said the quantity of drugs that had been confiscated — 2 tonnes last year and 1.5 tonnes this year — warranted the conclusion that Gorno-Badakhshan had become one of the biggest transit stages for drug contraband. "Whereas what was smuggled from Afghanistan two years ago was raw opium, nowadays most are finished products," the general said.

Also, since the beginning of this year Russian guards had beaten off more than 30 attempts by armed groups to cross the border into Tajikistan, he said.

Nikolayev said that today four Russian border guard units were stationed in Gorno-Badakhshan and that recently their total numerical strength had been doubled as had the amount of armaments they were equipped with and that 40 new border posts had been set up.

He said the Russian border guard force in the region was today 10 percent below strength, compared to 40 percent three years ago.

Asked about prospects for the settlement of the conflict between Tajikistan's government and opposition, Nikolayev said the matter "must be put on a political plane." "I am absolutely convinced that no solution can be achieved there by force," he said.

He said the opposition's willingness to extend a current cease-fire, expiring on Sunday, by another three months, was evidence that the opposition was ready to compromise.

The government, for its part, said it was ready to sign "a complete cease-fire for an indefinite time," which "provides reasons for some hope for the stabilization of the situation."

**Tajikistan: Rebels Claim Fighting Paralyzes Eastern District**

*LD2505132296 (Clandestine) Voice of Free Tajikistan in Uzbek 0300 GMT 25 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] The continuation of heavy clashes has paralyzed government structures in Jirgatal District [eastern Tajikistan].

According to information from the press center of the Ministry of Defense, they have no information about the fate of 71 policemen since armed people fired at the district Internal Affairs Department. According to this source, the policemen have vanished mysteriously, and now they know the whereabouts of only six out of the 77 policemen of Jirgatal District Internal Affairs Department. However, these are unable to function either.

Another source close to the presidential staff has reported that government structures in this district have ceased to function. The head of the district administration has left his post. It is supposed that he has fled. Staff at all offices in the district have lost their work drive.

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## Armenia

### Armenia: President Ratifies Moscow-Yerevan Agreement

*LD2405193996 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1639 GMT 24 May 96*

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] President Petrosyan has issued a decree to ratify an agreement with Moscow on cooperation in areas of culture, science and education signed earlier this year, Petrosyan's press office told Interfax.

The agreement provides for joint research and development, an exchange of information and specialists in the area of education and involvement in the celebration of each other's cultural events, including the Days of Russian Culture due in Armenia in September.

### Armenia: Russia's Bolshakov Arrives To Discuss Caucasus Summit

*LD2505191696 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1540 GMT 25 May 96*

[By Tigran Liloyan]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] YEREVAN, May 25 (Itar-Tass) — A Russian government delegation led by Vice-Prime Minister Aleksey Bolshakov arrived in Armenia on Saturday for talks with its leadership to discuss the upcoming Caucasus summit meeting to be held in Kislovodsk in early June.

Bolshakov has already had talks with Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan and Prime Minister Grant Bagratyan.

"I am confident that the meeting of the Caucasus leaders will take place and produce positive results. Considering the intensive development of economic relations with Armenia, we discussed many current problems which need to be resolved and we found solutions for almost all of them," he said.

Gagik Shakhbazyan, Armenian minister for relations with the CIS, the EU and international economic organisations, told Itar-Tass that his nation welcomes the idea of holding the Caucasus summit meeting.

First Deputy Russian Foreign Minister Boris Pastukhov recalled that the idea was put forth by Russian President Boris Yeltsin and confirmed Russia's position that all conflicts are interconnected and that the settlement of one of them will have a positive impact on all the processes in the region.

After the talks with the Armenian top officials, the Russian delegation left for Tbilisi.

### Armenia: President To Lead Delegation to Caucasian Summit

*NC2705152396 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1300 GMT 27 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] An official Armenian delegation headed by President Levon Ter-Petrosyan will leave for Kislovodsk on 3 June. The presidential press service reported that a consultative meeting of the leaders of the Transcaucasian and North Caucasian republics will be held in Kislovodsk at the invitation of Russian President Boris Yeltsin. The fundamental problems in the Caucasus — especially in the Caucasian hot spots — will be discussed at the meeting.

As Boris Pastukhov, Russia's first deputy foreign minister, said in Yerevan, the Caucasian republics are closely tied to one another and solving a major problem in one republic will have a positive effect on the others. Among others, the problem of a political resolution of the conflict between Nagorno-Karabakh and Azerbaijan will be discussed.

The idea to hold such a meeting was put forward months ago. The commentators had dubbed it the summit for a peaceful Caucasus. Armenia's president was one of the first to support the proposal.

### Armenia: Chinese Experts Sign Cooperation Agreements, Memoranda

*NC2505130596 Yerevan NOYAN TAPAN in English 0720 GMT 25 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Yerevan, May 24 (NOYAN TAPAN) — A delegation of scientific experts from China signed May 23 a number of agreements and memoranda on cooperation with Armenia-based Scientific-Research Institutes. Chinese delegation displayed particular interest in technologies elaborated by Armenian scientists in the fields of mechanics, microbiology and biotechnology, chemistry, etc. Chinese specialists plan to test Armenian technologies at some of China's enterprises.

An official from the Jilin based University of Technologies Ren Luguang [name as transliterated] noted that the visit aims at getting familiarized with the current state of the Armenian science and establishing ties with Armenian scientists. He was surprised that Armenian scientists manage to attain excellent results under heavy economic and social circumstances.

The agreements sealed will be submitted for approval to the China's Scientific-technical Commission. It will be followed by the second stage of negotiations, during which the sides are to specify terms of the bilateral cooperation.

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## Azerbaijan

### Azerbaijan: Foreign Affairs Minister Views Border Agreement With Russia

*NC2105155096 Baku TURAN in English 0419 GMT May 21 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku /21.05.96/ TURAN — "The agreement touches upon cooperation between the border troops of both countries. All civilized countries conclude the agreement on principles of cooperation with their neighbours. It does not at all means joint protection of borders", Azerbaijan's Foreign Affairs Minister, Gasan Gasanov, has commented on the border agreement signed between Russia and Azerbaijan in Moscow [sentence as received].

He said the document provides for creation of small of groups including the representatives of two countries, who "will play the role of information bridge for coordination of issues of mutual interest". Minister Gasanov did not acknowledge the information of western sources that the Russian-Azerbaijani agreement stipulates deployment of Russia's border troops in Azerbaijan until completion of the conflict in Chechnya.

Touching upon the results of the summit of the heads of the CIS-member states in Moscow, Gasanov stressed the statement concerning the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict settlement, which approves Russia's mediatorial mission.

### Azerbaijan: President Says Country 'Wary' of Unions in CIS Framework

*LD2305202496 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1827 GMT 23 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku, May 23 (Interfax) — Azerbaijan is wary of any unions in the Commonwealth of Independent States framework, even though it is not worried by them, Azerbaijani President Geydar Aliyev told CIS Executive Secretary Ivan Korotchenya who arrived in Baku Thursday.

"The creation of unions within the CIS is suggestive of experiments staged in the former USSR that ultimately led to its collapse, Aliyev said. "A union within a union is a kind of separatism," he said.

Aliyev made his remarks in response to Korotchenya's statement on integration processes gaining momentum within the CIS. The setting up of the Russian-Belarusian Community and the Customs Union of Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan reflect this trend, Korotchenya said.

Korotchenya said at the beginning of the meeting that he would like to raise the issue of chairmanship in the CIS, a post currently occupied by Russia. He believes that Russia will be replaced by Azerbaijan and so it is essential that closer cooperation between Azerbaijan and CIS structures be discussed.

Aliyev made it clear that his country wants the CIS to be as democratic as possible and ensure free democratic and independent development of its member states.

"Who chairs the CIS is unimportant," he said.

### Azerbaijan: Foreign Minister, U.S. Envoy Discuss Nagorno-Karabakh

*LD2405154796 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1508 GMT 24 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] BAKU, May 24 (Interfax) — Azerbaijani Foreign Minister Gasan Gasanov and the U.S. envoy for Nagorno-Karabakh, Joseph Pressel, discussed the state of and prospects for Nagorno-Karabakh settlement in Baku Friday.

In particular, Gasanov told Pressel that Armenia was not trying to conceal anything as it promoted a debate on the status of Nagorno-Karabakh. It is seeking Nagorno-Karabakh's independence rather than autonomy, he said.

"For Baku, the question may be only Nagorno-Karabakh's autonomy within Azerbaijan," Gasanov stated. "However, Armenia thinks it is a victor and neglects Azerbaijan's opinion.

"As an aggressor, it should take into consideration the position of the United States," he added.

"The absence of chances for Nagorno-Karabakh's independence must be as obvious and categorical as to make Armenia drop this claim," Gasanov insisted.

Pressel discussed with Hasanov his trip to the conflict area as head of a U.S. delegation. However, the delegation's efforts were in vain, he said.

"Russia and the head of its Foreign Ministry, Yevgeniy Primakov, have intensified their settlement efforts recently," Pressel admitted. But he noted that the recent exchange of prisoners of war and hostages was the only achievement of Russian diplomacy so far.

"No visible progress in Armenian-Azerbaijani settlement was achieved at the last CIS summit in Moscow," Pressel said.

After this statement, the meeting continued behind closed doors.

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**Azerbaijan: Gasan Gasanov Receives U.S. Representative Pressel**

*NC2405162296 Baku TURAN in English 1310 GMT 24 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku /24.05.96/ TURAN — Today Azerbaijan's Foreign Affairs Minister, Gasan Gasanov, received special representative of the U.S. to the talks on the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict, Mr. Joseph Pressel.

"Over the past time during the negotiations with Azerbaijan the Armenian side takes the position of force. Armenia does not conceal that under term "status" it does not mean autonomy inside Azerbaijan, but absolute independence", Gasan Gasanov said.

Azerbaijan hopes that the world community will not recognize independence of Nagorno-Karabakh in no case, Minister mentioned. To his opinion, the world community must absolutely refuse from recognizing of independence of Nagorno-Karabakh. Such position can make Armenians to be more compliant and refuse from their position, Gasanov believes.

Joseph Pressel said his meetings in Yerevan were difficult. His current visit coincided with difficult period in settlement of the Karabakh conflict. He has recognized that March visit of the American delegation to the region was unsuccessful.

Over the past time Russia, including Foreign Affairs Minister Yevgeniy Primakov, has activized. These efforts have also failed, except for POW exchange, Mr. Pressel noted.

Moscow's summit of the CIS in its part dedicated to the Armenian- Azerbaijani conflict settlement has not been a success as well, American diplomat said.

"I would have called my mission successful if the negotiation process has returned to the same condition it was 5 months ago", Mr. Pressel said. He also noted that he does not expect special results, but he wishes to create pre-conditions for future success right now.

"You depreciate your role. The U.S. is always U.S.", Gasan Gasanov said.[sentence as received] Gasan Gasanov said Azerbaijan is not against coming back to the negotiations process like it was five months ago". "Five months ago we have been imposed the conversation about the status and it has led the negotiations to the deadlock. If return to the format like it was five months ago means refusal from independence status, we absolutely understand each other", Gasan Gasanov said.

Then the meeting continued behind the closed doors.

**Azerbaijan: Foreign Minister on Presidential Summit on South Caucasus**

*LD2305190596 Moscow Interfax in English 1637 GMT 23 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] BAKU, May 23 (Interfax) — The presidents of Russia, Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia are to meet in Kislovodsk, southern Russia, on June 4 to discuss the settlement of armed conflicts in the Southern Caucasus, Azerbaijani Foreign Minister Gasan Gasanov told Interfax Thursday.

Meanwhile, the Russian presidential press service did not confirm or deny the report and referred to the intensive schedule of working visits by Boris Yeltsin in keeping with which many of his events can be somewhat postponed.

The Azerbaijani minister stressed that Russia's involvement in the talks is prompted not only by geographical reasons but also by Moscow's interest in stability and calm near its southern borders.

**Azerbaijan: Aliyev Agrees To Attend Caucasian Summit**

*LD2505163396 Moscow Interfax in English 1041 GMT 25 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] BAKU, May 25 (Interfax) — Azerbaijani President Geydar Aliyev told Russian Deputy Prime Minister Aleksey Bolshakov Friday night in Baku that he agreed to attend a conference of the heads of state of the Caucasian nations which is due to be held on President Yeltsin's initiative early next month.

Bolshakov transmitted a letter from Yeltsin and a draft declaration meant to be signed at the Caucasian summit, to Aliyev.

According to Bolshakov, the summit will open with a conference of the Russian, Azerbaijani, Georgian and Armenian leaders. The qudripartite conference is to be followed by a full-body summit session.

According to Baku-based diplomatic sources, the summit will be held on June 4 in either Kislovodsk or Vladikavkaz.

**Azerbaijan: Uzbekistan's President Arrives; Discussion Topics Viewed**

*NC2705104896 Baku TURAN in English 1000 GMT 27 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku/27.05.96/TURAN— President of Uzbekistan Islam Karimov has arrived today in Baku at 10.00 for an official two-day visit. President Geydar Aliyev met him at the airport.

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Geydar Aliyev told to journalists that the two presidents are going to discuss the question on developing of bilateral relations as well as the problems of the both states.

Islam Karimov, in turn said, that it is his first visit to Baku and it was his dream to visit this city. "Geydar Aliyev has a great authority in Uzbekistan that is why I accepted his invitation," he said.

"Geydar Aliyev and I have great plans for the future in the sphere of bilateral relations. The two states has a great potential which can be used for benefit of both states," Karimov stated. "Today we are building an independent Azerbaijan and independent Uzbekistan and the documents which we are going to sign will be a basis for the further development of our relations. Azerbaijan and Uzbekistan are the two fraternal Muslim states are we have to do our best so that our countries prosper," Karimov said.

* Today the two presidents will sign 19 documents. Among them are: treaty on friendship and cooperation , package of economic agreements ( on mutual encouraging and protection of investments, production co-operation and others,) as well as the agreements on culture, tourism and health care.

[In a related report, Baku TURAN in English at 1015 GMT on 27 May adds the following: "Uzbekistan is a country which has great reserves of raw material. Today relations between Azerbaijan and Uzbekistan are on zero level, but we are going to start economic cooperation with Tashkent in the sphere of textile and petrochemical industries," TURAN was told by the Chairman of the Milli Mejlis Rasul Guliyev.

["Foreign Minister Gasan Gasanov, in turn, said that first of all the cooperation between the two states will be of economic character.

["Gasanov noted also the political significance of Karimov's visit as up to date the relations between these countries were cool.

["* Beginning from 1992 the relations between Baku and Tashkent has changed to worse, as the previous leadership of Azerbaijan made some sharp statements against the leadership of Uzbekistan."]

**Azerbaijan: Uzbek, Azerbaijani Presidents Sign 19 Agreements**

*LD2705163496 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1423 GMT 27 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] BAKU, May 27 (Interfax) — Presidents Geydar Aliyev of Azerbaijan and Islam Karimov of Uzbekistan signed 19 bilateral documents, including a treaty on friendship and cooperation, in the Azerbaijani capital of Baku on Monday.

The documents also include agreements on measures to avoid double taxation, on customs cooperation, protection of investments, free trade, scientific and technological cooperation, on air, automobile and railroad transportation, cooperation in the areas of tourism, health care and culture, and on pension guarantees.

Uzbekistan will not join the customs union created by Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, Karimov said at the signing ceremony.

Aliyev, too, gave a negative assessment to the creation of unions or communities within the Commonwealth of Independent States. "Independence is a historic achievement for every country and we will not allow a return to the past," he said.

Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan agree on this point, he said.

Karimov gave a high assessment to the agreement on cooperation in transportation and transit signed by Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan and Georgia in early May. The agreement envisages direct rail links from the Black Sea to Uzbekistan with the use of a ferry on the Caspian Sea. The agreement is significant not only economically but also politically, said Karimov.

**Azerbaijan: Uzbekistan's President Rejects 'Geopolitical' Union**

*NC2705183896 Baku TURAN in English 0155 GMT 27 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku/27.05.96/TURAN — Today there was meeting and negotiations between governmental delegations of Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan within the framework of visit of Uzbekistan's President Islam Karimov to Baku.

Welcoming the guests President Aliyev said that for Azerbaijan Uzbekistan is "brotherly and friendly state". The packet of bilateral agreements, which is to be signed today, is of great importance for further rapproachment of two states, President Aliyev mentioned.

Islam Karimov regretfully noted that he is compelled to speak in Russian, but he hopes that in the future when Uzbeks and Azeris will contact with each other, there will be "no necessity in the third language".

He said with regret that Azerbaijan and Uzbekistan "failed to establish relations in time" and noted that both states are in need of each other's support.

Uzbekistan's President has informed the Azeri side about successes his state has achieved over 4 years of independence in details. He said as of today Uzbekistan

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has 1 billion foreign investment and annual trade turnover of the country totals $6.5 billion, Uzbekistan has positive trade balance standing at $260 million and this year it refused from import of meat and grain and since 1997 it will not import fuel.

Karimov has reproached Moscow that under USSR Uzbekistan was a poor outskirt, but now "Uzbekistan goes in advance of many CIS-member states in field of economic and political reforms. In five years we will reach European countries on level of living standards", he said.

Karimov has accused the former administration of USSR of "policy of genocide" against Uzbek nation from 1983 to 1990.

Karimov has negatively assessed conclusion of quadripartite customs Union by Russia, Kazakhstan, Belarus and Kyrgyzstan. "18 and 19 points of this agreement envisage creation of over-state structures, the resolutions of which will be obligatory for Governments and Parliaments of four states. We do not accept such Union. This is not economic, but geopolitical Union", Islam Karimov said.

Touching upon Azerbaijani-Uzbek relations, Karimov said "Azerbaijan is involved in political struggle, which hinders establishment of stability. In Uzbekistan we did not divide people in 'red', 'white' and 'black' that is why we have achieved success. As a friend, I advise you to form the team of people sharing the same views, which will work for the welfare of the state, but each person will have its own opinion on political issues".

Karimov has stressed quadripartite agreement on transport cooperation concluded by Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Turkmenistan. "Implementation of this agreement will allow Azerbaijan to lessen railroad blockade from the north and use our communications for export and import of its goods", Karimov noted.

Touching upon the Caspian Sea, Karimov mentioned that "from now on the Caspian Sea is common rich of Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan. We intend to invest in construction of terminals, warehouses and other infrastructure required for implementation of export-import of Uzbekistan's goods through Azerbaijan to Georgia and then to the Black Sea in your ports. These communications acquire strategical importance for Uzbekistan. It is no secret that it is not only economic, but also political interest. From now on we are interested in stability in Azerbaijan and we will actively promote resolvement of all Azerbaijan's problems", Islam Karimov mentioned.

President Aliyev thanked President Karimov for support and expressed confidence that cooperation of two states will be importance for their welfare.

President Karimov has officially invited President Aliyev to pay visit to Uzbekistan next month.

**Azerbaijan: Uzbekistan Foreign Minister on Bilateral Cooperation**

*NC2705180896 Baku TURAN in English 0155 GMT 27 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku/27.05.96/TURAN — This visit provides creation of serious treaty-legal basis in cooperation between Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan," Foreign Minister of Uzbekistan Kamilov considers. According to Kamilov, both republics have great possibilities for political and cooperation on multilateral basis as well as within the frameworks of the international organizations.

"We do not accept the politicization of the question on integration of the countries of the Commonwealth and creation of above-state structures. Uzbekistan accepts nothing that abuses sovereignty and independence of the countries of the commonwealth," Kamilov said.

Commenting on the policy of Russia in the CIS , Kamilov said , that the Commonwealth should be democratic structure and should not create conditions for domination of one of the members of the CIS over other countries.

According to Kamilov, Uzbekistan proposes to cooperate with Azerbaijan in the oil sphere, as there are great oil deposits in Uzbekistan. The Foreign Minister noted that Uzbekistan supported the initiative on peaceful Caucasus.

**Azerbaijan: Azeri Historian Urges Azerbaijan's Incorporation Into Iran**

*LD2105094196 Tehran IRNA in English 0806 GMT 21 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Stockholm, May 21, IRNA — A historian, introducing himself as an Azeri national, called for the annexation to Iran of Republic of Azerbaijan.

Dr. Kamal told an IRNA correspondent here that due to conspiracies masterminded by big powers, Iranian territory disintegrated during certain periods in history. Now that the world has become sensitive about preserving countries' territorial integrity, the present Azerbaijan Republic should regain their original identity, he said. Dr. Kamal who has been in Sweden for the past three months doing research, added that a significant number of Azeris consider themselves as Iranian nationals.

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"We seek our past values and glories in the Islamic Republic of Iran. We are certain that a consolidation of the Iranian nation within the framework of the Islamic Republic is a step towards the establishment of stability and security in the whole region," he underlined.

Supporters of annexation to the Islamic Republic of Iran disregard biased Azeri propaganda against Iran and conduct coordination meetings, he remarked, concluding that they would not give up their belief.

## Georgia

### Georgia: Shevardnadze Welcomes Chechnya Cease-Fire Accord

*LD2805105696 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0922 GMT 28 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] TBILISI, May 28 (Interfax) — Georgian President Eduard Shevardnadze welcomed the agreement on cease-fire in Chechnya reached during negotiations between the Russian leadership and leaders of Chechen separatists in Moscow Monday [27 May].

"The Georgian president believes that these agreements may be a real move towards conflict settlement in the Caucasus as a whole, a stimulus for achieving a positive result at the upcoming meeting of Russian, Georgian, Armenian and Azerbaijani presidents and leaders of North Caucasian republics in Kislovodsk," Vakhtang Abashidze, press secretary of the Georgian president, told Interfax.

Shevardnadze places great hopes on the meeting in Kislovodsk to be held at the initiative of Russian President Boris Yeltsin, Abashidze said.

"Participants in this meeting, Shevardnadze said, are likely to adopt radical decisions aimed at establishing peace and stability in the Caucasus," Abashidze said.

The meeting in Kislovodsk is scheduled for June 3.

### Georgia: Russia's Bolshakov Comments on 3 Jun Caucasus Summit

*LD2505212696 Tbilisi First Program Television Network in Georgian 1857 GMT 25 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Russian Deputy Prime Minister Aleksey Bolshakov visited Tbilisi today on a one-day official visit.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] The guest led a delegation that included Boris Pastukhov, Russian first deputy foreign minister, Vasiliy Shcheglovskiy, the Russian first deputy minister for cooperation with CIS states, and other officials. The eminent guests were welcomed at Tbilisi airport by Georgian President Eduard Shevardnadze, Georgian Foreign Minister Irakli Menagharishvili, Vladimir Zemskiy, the Russian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Georgia, and Tbilisi Mayor Badri Shoshitaishvili.

Among the aims of Aleksey Bolshakov's visit to Georgia was to prepare a meeting of the Russian, Georgian, Armenian, and Azerbaijani presidents on 3 June. He had already visited Baku and Yerevan for this purpose.

The Russian deputy prime minister had a one-to-one discussion with Georgian President Eduard Shevardnadze today, which was then joined by other officials. The main aim of the visit was to discuss a declaration provisionally called: For Peace and Stability in the Caucasus. The declaration will be signed in Kislovodsk on 3 June, by the Russian, Georgian, Armenian, and Azerbaijani presidents. The declaration fully reflects the main points of Georgian President Eduard Shevardnadze's For a Peaceful Caucasus initiative.

A briefing was held after the meeting. Bolshakov said at the briefing:

[Bolshakov, in Russian] All four states of the Caucasus have a common task today. Each of them needs peace, new-style economic development, and mutual understanding. We are fully aware of this, and the document that the presidents are to endorse says that all problems of each of the countries are common problems for the countries that exist and will exist in the Caucasus. A meeting called For Peace in the Caucasus was proposed by our president. Eduard Amvrosiyevich [Shevardnadze] proposed a long time ago that such a meeting should be held. We hope that it does take place.

[Correspondent] More specifically, the 3 June meeting is to discuss the following points:

[Bolshakov] There should be no separatism. There should be no terrorism. To resolve these problems in the Caucasus is a common task for all the states.

[Correspondent] As regards economic cooperation between the countries of the Caucasus, he said:

[Bolshakov] If there is peace, then there will be economic development.

[Correspondent] Finally, asked to confirm a report carried by the Russian media that, during his visit to Abkhazia he had reached agreement with the so-called authorities of Abkhazia on the entry of ships into Sukhumi port and other issues, Bolshakov said:

[Bolshakov] I would like to make a special statement. I have never been to Sukhumi and have never met anyone there. That is why this question is pointless. [end recording]

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Bidding farewell at Tbilisi airport to Aleksey Bolshakov and the officials accompanying him were Georgian President Eduard Shevardnadze, Foreign Minister Irakli Menagharishvili, Vladimir Zenskiy, the Russian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Georgia, and other officials. The delegation left Tbilisi late this evening.

**Georgia: 'Special Report' on Russian Peacekeepers in Abkhazia**

*LD2605174996 Moscow NTV in Russian*
*1800 GMT 25 May 96*

[From the "Segodnya" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] Aleksey Bolshakov, Russian deputy prime minister, decided to go to Tbilisi today on a one-day working visit. INTERFAX reports that one of the main aims of his talks with President Eduard Shevardnadze is the Abkhaz problem. In Abkhazia itself Russian troops are acting as a buffer between the warring sides. This is the subject for our Special Report today.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] [video shows peacekeepers on patrol, drilling, clearing mines] There has been peace now for two years in the conflict zone between Georgia and Abkhazia. For two years now the warring sides have been divided by the Inguri River and the Russian peacekeepers. There are 45 posts along the confrontation line. A battalion of paratroopers and a motorized rifle battalion from the 27th Peacekeeping Division are responsible for keeping the peace in a 12-kilometer zone on the Abkhaz bank of the Inguri River in the Kodori Gorge. While armed provocations on either side have effectively ended, a new problem has appeared — banditry, the inevitable scum from the cauldron of a war that has left arms in every second house. According to the Russian military, they are often approached by local residents and the peacekeepers have at times to defend whole localities in Abkhazia's Gali border district against bandits.

[Unidentified young Russian soldier] We would spend the nights sitting in wait. You would sit there and wait until morning. Then the battalion would be alerted and they would go out to catch bandits and that sort of thing.

[Correspondent] Did you shoot?

[Second unidentified soldier] Not at the target.

[First soldier] We were not allowed to shoot. We would just run around catching them.

[Correspondent] Last year, seven peacekeepers were killed by mines in Abkhazia. Another died at the start of this year. Officers call it a mine war. The front passed through the Gali district twice. Both sides left mines, hastily and without any pattern. Now no one remembers where they left death. According to approximate calculations, around 70,000 mines have been laid on the territory of Abkhazia. According to Russian sappers, brand new ones have now started to appear. Two months ago a vehicle containing UN military observers was blown up and a colonel from Bangladesh was killed. Every month Russian sappers remove 300 to 400 mines. On a day when the harvest is particularly good, the sappers remove about 100 mines at a time and destroy them later on wasteland.

On 17 April, the Georgian Supreme Council adopted a resolution that demands that the peacekeepers extend their work to the whole territory of Abkhazia and that they assume police functions. Otherwise, the peacekeeping forces will have to be withdrawn inside two months. According to the existing agreement, the stationing of the peacekeepers in Abkhazia may indeed be ended should any of the sides protest. However, this demand from Tbilisi is probably nothing more than blackmail since whatever the politicians say the military in Georgia, Abkhazia, and Russia know very well where the withdrawal of the peacekeeping forces will lead.

[Zakan Nanba, head of Abkhazi military intelligence] If the peacekeepers leave war will start.

[Senior Lieutenant Chigashvili, Georgian military observer] After a withdrawal of the Russian troops there will be more of what we had here before they arrived.

[Vasiliy Yakushev, commander of Collective Peacekeeping Forces in Abkhazia] A new war will begin if the peacekeepers leave here. I have no doubt about that. There will be a new war, revenge, bloodshed. What else can I say?

[Correspondent] General Vasiliy Yakushev believes that one cannot agree to the peacekeepers taking on police functions throughout Abkhazia. First, that will lead to confrontation with local people. Second, it will require a whole division instead of two battalions. Costs will rise too, and it will be Russia paying out the most.

[Yakushev] Our forces are called collective peacekeeping forces. Collective. Well, I want everyone to hear me when I say that the collective is Russia. I have not even one military observer from the CIS, from that friendly collective, here in these forces and that is leaving aside financial and technical help and other issues.

[Correspondent] While the new status of the peacekeepers in Abkhazia is being discussed, it has been decided to renew their mandate until 19 July. Evidently, Russia can only solve all her foreign policy problems after the election. [end recording]

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**Georgia: Tbilisi Rejects Closer Ties With 'Union of Four'**

*LD2805110396 Tbilisi IBERIA in Georgian 0910 GMT 28 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Tbilisi, 28 May — An IBERIA correspondent has learned from reliable sources that, at meetings with Georgian government officials during his visit to Georgia [on 23 May], CIS Executive Secretary Ivan Korotchenya raised the issue of Georgia joining the so-called "union of four," which includes Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Belarus. The Georgian authorities refused to consider the issue until Georgian territorial integrity has been restored and both Samachablo [South Ossetia] and Abkhazia have come under Georgian jurisdiction.

For the same reason, Georgia refused to join either the CIS customs union or the system for the joint protection of CIS borders.

**Georgia: Uzbek President Karimov Arrives for Formal Visit**

*LD2805100996 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0722 GMT 28 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] TBILISI, May 28 (Interfax) — Uzbekistan's President Islam Karimov is paying a formal visit to Georgia. A Georgian source reports that 16 bilateral documents are expected to be signed at the end of his trip, adding that Karimov and his Georgian host President Eduard Shevardnadze are to hold a news conference this afternoon.

Karimov arrived in Georgia from Azerbaijan where he signed 19 bilateral accords, including a friendship and cooperation treaty.

**Georgia: Russian Army Calls 22 May Tbilisi Incident 'Attack'**

*LD2605143596 Moscow NTV in Russian 1800 GMT 25 May 96*

[From the 'Segodnya' newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] There has been a new aggravation of the situation of the Russian troops in Georgia. Lively debates and arguments are continuing in the Georgian capital over whether an attempt on the life of a high-ranking Russian Army officer did or did not take place. Here is a report from Tbilisi with the details.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] The press center of the Group of Russian Forces in the Caucasus [GRVZ] has released a statement describing the incident on 22 May as an attack on the commander of the GRVZ, Fedor Reut. The statement says that Fedor Reut's vehicle was travelling in a convoy of GRVZ vehicles. His vehicle, which is usually the second, was overtaken by an escort vehicle. An unidentified Lada then began to bear down on the escort vehicle near the parliament building on Rustaveli Avenue. The front window was then struck several times. The statement does not say what was used to strike the window but it suggests that the attack was meant for the commander's vehicle and owing to the change in the travelling order of the vehicles the escort Volga of the deputy commander came under attack.

Our attempts to film the damaged vehicle were unsuccessful. We were told by the military that the car had been repaired promptly. To all appearances, the problem with this vehicle arose with the Georgian law and order bodies investigating the incident.

[Avtandil Ioseliani, deputy minister of state security of Georgia, identified by caption] General Zelidze, the deputy minister, two deputy ministers of the Interior Ministry of Georgia, and an investigatory group were sent to the Caucasus Military District. So what happened? They found the vehicle of the deputy commander, [Major General Vasiliy] Belchenko. A stone was found inside the vehicle. But they would not allow our investigators to document the incident. So for now we cannot say how the stone got there.

[Correspondent] Meanwhile, the incident is taking on a political hue in Georgia. The chairman of the parliament, Zurab Zhvania, expressed surprise that the GRVZ had described the incident as an attempt on the commander's life. Zhvania believes that there is an attempt here to destabilize the friendly relations between Russia and Georgia. At the same time, the chairman of the parliament suggested that more serious provocations should be expected and he called on the Georgian president, as the guarantor of security and stability, to take appropriate measures. [end recording]

**Georgia: Shevardnadze Says Army Now Able To Control Whole Republic**

*LD2605211496 Moscow NTV in Russian 1500 GMT 26 May 96*

[From the "Segodnya" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] There was a celebration and military parade in Georgia today. At the same time, civilian and military leaders once again recalled the conflicts on Georgian territory during which the central government lost control over South Ossetia and Abkhazia.

[Unidentified correspondent] For the fifth year now Georgia began the celebration of the 26th of May, Statehood Restoration day, with a parade of the Armed Forces. Circles in Georgia, including government circles, do not hide the fact that they are counting on

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the Armed Forces if the process of settling conflicts by peaceful means fails to produce the desired results.

[Begin Georgian President Eduard Shevardnadze recording] Thanks to the support of Russia, a great deal has been achieved. Here today we have the best example, the best demonstration, of the fact that Georgia's Armed Forces are in a position to control the whole of the territory of Georgia. [end recording]

[Correspondent] After the military parade every inhabitant of the capital could mark the celebration as they saw fit. However, luck was clearly not on the side of those who decided to attend a rally of Zviadists marking the 5th anniversary of Gamsakhurdia's election as president. The fact is that, after the approved rally, the Zviadists unexpectedly decided to extend their program and hold a march with unfurled flags of Georgia and the Republic of Ichkeria [Chechnya] along the central streets of the city of Tbilisi. But the police decided to confiscate the Chechen flag and scuffles ensued; several activists were arrested. Despite their small losses, the Zviadists continued their march, but the majority of the citizens enjoyed dancing and concerts by various folk and show groups.

**Georgia: South Ossetia To Bargain for Independent Status**

*MK2805091696 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 24 May 96 p 2*

[Report by Natalya Gorodetskaya: "Tskhinval Intends To Bargain With Tbilisi for Its State Status. Compromises Are Possible, But To a Certain Limit"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The memorandum on security and the strengthening of trust between the sides in the Georgian-Ossetian conflict, signed 16 May in Moscow, is being differently perceived in the two republics. Tbilisi, referring to the first part of a provision in the preamble of the document — "proceeding from respect for the principle of territorial integrity of the state..." — believes that, by having signed the memorandum, South Ossetia recognized itself as a part of Georgia. Tskhinval, quite the contrary, refers to the second part of the provision — "...and the right of nations to self-determination" — and has no intention to give up a possibility of self-determination.

Lyudvig Chibirov, speaker of the parliament of the Republic of South Ossetia (RSO), has told your SEGODNYA correspondent that he regards the memorandum "only as a basis for further negotiations about the status of the republic." He said that the republic did exist and would continue to exist regardless of whether or not Georgia recognizes it. Mr. Chibirov said that he had proposed that he and Georgian President Eduard Shevardnadze meet in Vladikavkaz in early June, after the conference of heads of Caucasus republics, krays, and oblasts to discuss problems of top priority. In his opinion, only after this meeting it would be possible to talk about timing and possible results of future Ossetian-Georgian negotiations.

As regards negotiations on the status of the republic, Mr. Chibirov said that South Ossetian authorities "will be bargaining, and are ready for a compromise" — however, for one that would do no harm to his people in the future. Leaders of the RSO got inspired by Boris Yeltsin's words during the signing of the memorandum: "The republic should be given a special status: a maximum of independence [samostoyatelnost] and equality." As RSO leaders understand it, independence means "an own republic, with all attributes of state power and its own language, taking care itself of its economic matters, including foreign economic relations." There are various options to achieve this, such as the creation of a federation or a confederation in Georgia, or the transfer of South Ossetia under a dual jurisdiction of both Russia and Georgia. At the same time, the Ossetians would not mind to have dual citizenship and, correspondingly, be entitled to unimpeded, customs-free ingress to both republics. According to Mr. Chibirov, South Ossetia does not rule out the possibility of using the Abkhaz option either, i.e., to hold a republican referendum after the return of Georgian refugees.

In addition to political issues, the head of South Ossetia intends to discuss with Mr. Shevardnadze economic problems. In 1993, a Russian-Georgian agreement on the restoration of the RSO economy was signed. In accordance with this agreement, until 1997, the republic was to receive 34.2 billion rubles, with one-third to be paid by Russia and the rest by Georgia. As of today, only Russia has allocated 11 billion rubles. The chairman of the RSO parliament is sure that a financial support of its economy by Tbilisi will persuade the people of South Ossetia in the necessity of "good-neighborly" coexistence much more readily than the whole peacemaking campaign in the Georgian and Ossetian mass media.

**Georgia: Abkhaz Separatists Seek Deal in Kodori Gorge**

*LD2405164396 Tbilisi SAKINFORM in Russian 1245 GMT 24 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] [No dateline as received] — A SAKINFORM correspondent has learned from the zone where the Russian peacekeeping forces are deployed that emissaries from the Abkhaz separatists have visited the Kodori Gorge in Abkhazia's Gulripshi district. They asked the local Georgian population to recognize the leadership of the current administration and not to obstruct the building of a highway to the north Caucasus. Instead, they were promised certain privileges within the so-called Abkhaz state. However, the negotiations ended without result as the Georgian population rejected categorically the Abkhaz separatists' offer.

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